THE
Saturday Review
OF LITERATURE

VOLUME XXVI No. 12 NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 20, 1943 FIFTEEN CENTS

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by Norman Angell

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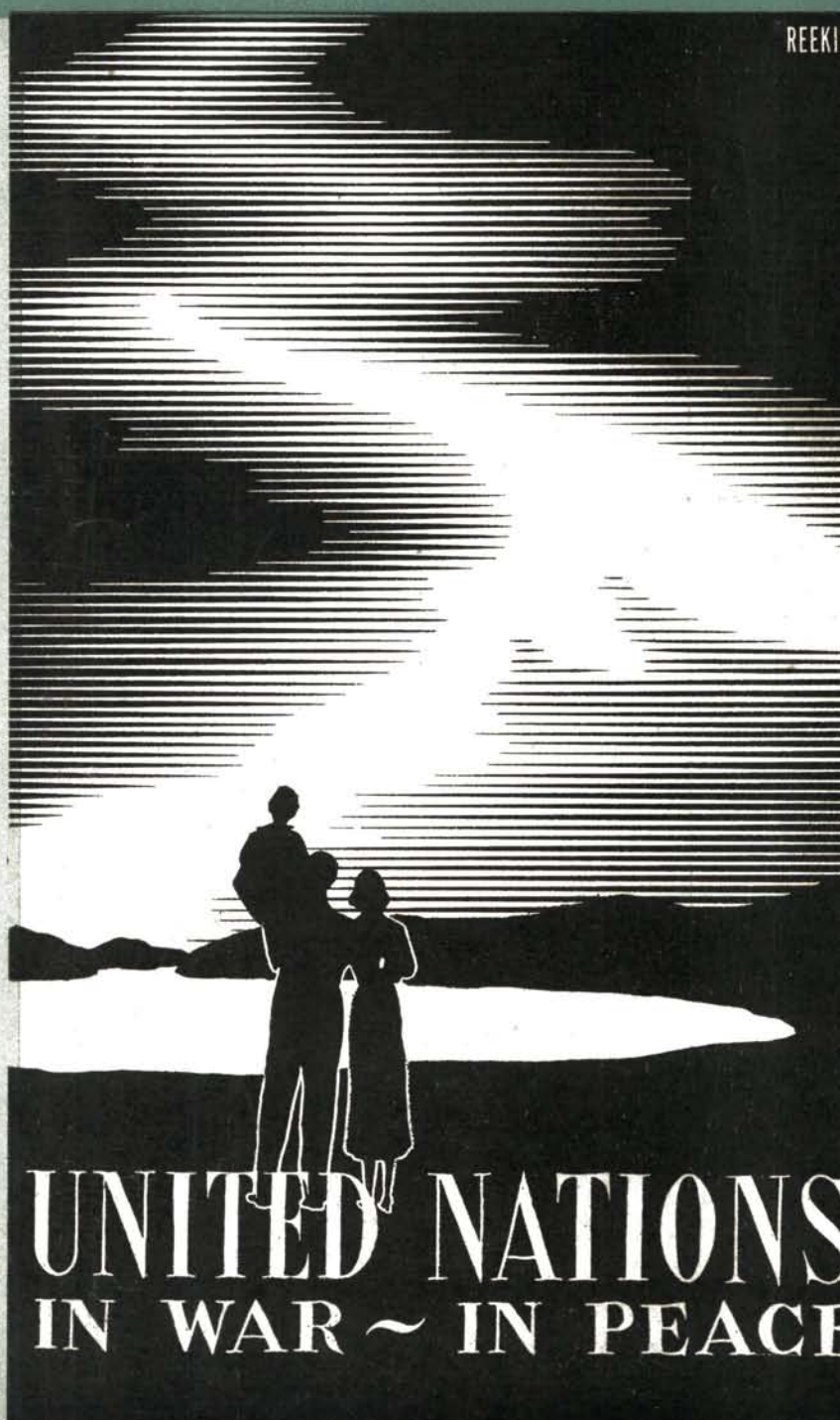

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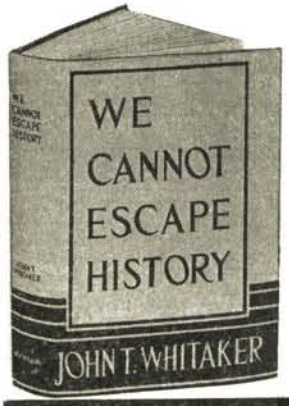

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The Saturday Review of Literature

March 20, 1943

FOUNDATIONS OF A POST-WAR WORLD

A Special Issue

GUEST EDITOR: NORMAN ANGELL

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THE SATURDAY REVIEW OF LITERATURE, published weekly by the Saturday Review Associates, Inc., 25 West 45th Street, New York, N. Y. Harrison Smith, President; J. R. Cominsky, Executive Vice President; Amy Loveman, Secretary; Anthony J. Passaretti, Treasurer. Subscription, $5 a year; $6 in Canada and other countries. At least 3 weeks' notice required for changes of address; both old and new addresses must be given. Printed in U. S. A. Vol XXVI, No. 12, March 20, 1943. Entered as second class matter at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Indexed in the "Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature." Copyright, 1943.

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Shall We Writers Fail Again?

Literature and Literacy Have Increased But Remain Unequal to Their Biggest Test

NORMAN ANGELL

NO generation in recorded history has produced and read as many books as this generation; never before has the world possessed such mountains of printed matter. And never has the world been in such danger from its most evil, and sometimes its most ignorant, elements.

Of all ages this is the most literate, if literacy is to be measured by the capacity to read, and the availability of reading matter—whether in the form of books or magazines or newspapers—all opened freely to multitudes by school and university education more widely disseminated than ever before. Yet all this has not taught the Western world how it may defend itself against the destructive fury of small criminal minorities. Two world wars in a quarter of a century are the measure of that failure, failure not less frightening when we remember that the nation which has probably the greatest share of responsibilty for the unleashing of both wars happens to be perhaps the most bookish, most "learned," most "educated" of all the peoples of the world. The omnipresence of the schoolmaster in Germany, the "thoroughness" and "profundity" of German learning, have not prevented the whole German nation's being used as a tool, by a half-insane ignoramus, for the enslavement of mankind. The peoples already enslaved—Scandinavian, French, or others—are themselves highly literate and completely bereft of any understanding of how they might defend their freedom. Tomorrow the same flood of print will be poured out upon the peoples of the East and of Africa—upon China, India, the Negro world. They, too, will all become literate, and be reading, and we shall all regard it as a great triumph of progress. But why should we suppose that Asia or Africa will make any better use of the universal ability to read than the West has done?

Literature is the interpretation of experience. It should surely be, among other things, in this "century of the common man," an instrument by which the multitudes may learn at least how to avoid utter frustration of their hope to prevent ever-recurrent pestilences of human hate, cruelty, devastation, and oppression, like that now sweeping over the earth.

Might not we, who have written books, moved by a little decent humility, now take stock, and ask why in the two decades which followed the first world war we somehow failed to render commonplace the knowledge which might have prevented the same disaster from occurring a second time in even more appalling form—ask why we failed, that is, adequately to answer the question of the common man, What must I do to be saved?

What answer have we given in the last twenty years? And how far, in the light of what followed, was it a right answer?

Too Many Answers

Putting it thus, one is obliged to observe, first, that there was a multitude of contradictory answers—so contradictory that the common man became utterly confused; and confusion was and is the first great obstacle to wisdom and to salvation.

Within a year or two of the ending of the last war, the public of Europe and America was confronted with literally tens of thousands of books upon the causes of the war and the means of preventing its recurrence. In the presence of ten thousand books discussing a single problem what does the common man do? Where does he begin? How does he make his choice?

His schooling, usually, does not help him in this problem of selection; does not give him any technique for the effective use of the vast quantity of books now at his disposal; has little developed the aptitude which will enable him to decide what knowledge

is of most worth, what most relevant to his vital needs. On that point, perhaps, we of the writing world have a grievance against the educationalists: in putting this tool of reading into the hands of the millions they have done little to develop the skills by which it may be used.

Do the ten thousand books, when distilled, give any common answer to this question of defense of freedom without recurrent world war? Is there any agreed truth which the book writers could now so emphasize that John Smith could hardly fail to hear the message?

Some will certainly say no: that there is no agreement on the means by which we may achieve security from the kind of violence which the world now endures; that the cures suggested these twenty years have been diverse—some urging a League, others opposing it; still others urging Federation, others opposing that; eminent historians and statesmen passionately warning the nation against any intervention whatsoever in Europe, others as eminent and as passionately advocating it; the policies of one group condemned by others as the plots of Wall Street. . . . John Smith would have plenty of evidence in support of his contention that the doctors were all in hopeless disagreement, and that where the wise men could not get the answers from the ten thousand books, he, the plain layman, would have no chance whatever, and that, on the face of it, it would be useless to attempt it. Which is indeed precisely the conclusion of most of the common men and women in the presence of the literary mountains.

Yet, nevertheless, it is not true, at this date, that there are no clear and inescapable conclusions. The noise which the doctors make, quarreling over their disagreements, obscures for the common man the very important things about which, in fact, the doctors do agree. They are to blame that those agreements do not emerge more, and the disagreements less.

This particular writer has in the past used a certain analogy. The science of medicine, like the science of society, is still woefully inexact, in-

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complete. Yet medicine has, in one respect, transformed the world. Not only have leprosy, bubonic plague, typhus, and similar pestilences, which once threw dreadful shadows over every life, virtually disappeared from Occidental communities, but surgery has been transformed owing to the discovery of the part played by the transmission of micro-organisms. The microbial theory, which made this immense achievement possible, was not difficult to understand, nor was the evidence supporting it difficult to interpret. But the doctors fought deadly battles about it; murderous passions were unloosed in the violent controversies that surrounded the theory, especially in so far as it affected surgery. Many a good surgeon who had operated all his life would have gone to the stake rather than admit that there was anything in the idea which, today, not only every bacteriologist, but every educated layman, accepts as beyond any possibility of dispute. Indeed, the work of prophylaxis, which in Western nations has made these pestilences a thing of the past, has been the work of laymen—urban authorities spending tax-payers' money (the money of laymen) on sanitation, which is sometimes pretty costly. Laymen do not need to be bacteriologists to be persuaded of the utility of such measures; and sometimes the layman has accepted the facts more readily than the scientist, whose mind was pre-possessed with other theories of disease causation.

This bit of medical history is used by the writer to suggest that if the doctors of political science could drop differences which are largely factional, and concentrate upon clarifying for the public the few political truths almost as much agreed upon today as is the microbial theory in medicine, we should make an immense step forward in the fight against the pestilence of war.

Defensive Interdependence

What are the essential truths upon which we might hope to agree?

One is surely the defensive interdependence of nations in the modern world, the fact that no nation today can defend itself by its own power. The country which had the greatest chance of being able to do so, the country which could present by far the best case for isolationism was this country; and at this moment American soldiers are fighting in all the four corners of the earth for the defense of America; they are defending it in Greenland, in Iceland, in Ireland, in Australia, in China, in Egypt, in India, and tomorrow perhaps will be defending it in Russia, Italy, Spain, and France. To what extent has the political literature of America this last twenty years familiarized the public with the reasons which made this outcome inherent in the whole political situation of the world? Suppose five years ago you had said to the average Main Street American, "You cannot effectively defend America, and prevent the country's being dragged again and again into world wars, unless you are prepared to defend China (or Russia, or Britain) and maybe send your soldiers to Australia and Greenland and Egypt." What would have been the reaction to the statement? It would have been met with ribald laughter. No one would have believed that you could possibly be serious. Yet to labor the point at this moment that the freedom of America may depend upon the freedom of others, upon the success of battles waged by strange peoples on the other side of the world; that the defense of China or Britain is part of the defense of the United States, to labor that point today would be simply wearisome, because the thing is a platitude, obvious, its demonstration taking place before our eyes. The obvious of today was for John Smith yesterday just arrant nonsense.

But why was it?

The best doctors of political science had for years been proclaiming that absolute national sovereignty was incompatible with the maintenance of an orderly international society; that the international anarchy must in the end lead to war. These conclusions were, in the domain of the doctors, agreed truths, though much of the general public had not grasped the full meaning of the terms, or their urgent significance. Already during the last war Lowes Dickinson was writing his masterpiece on "The International Anarchy," showing how inevitably the method of "each his own defender"

IN 1918, Sir Norman Angell wrote that "the survival of the Western Democracies, in so far as that is a matter of the effective use of their force, depends upon their capacity to use it as a unit, during the war and after. That unity we have not attained, even for the purposes of the war, because we have refused to recognize its necessary conditions—a kind and degree of democratic internationalism which is not necessary to the enemy, but is to us. . . ."*

Sir Norman is the product of two great English-speaking peoples. He was born in Holbeach, England, in 1874. At the age of seventeen, he came to America, where he worked as a farm-hand in California and Nevada; as a cowpuncher in New Mexico and California; as a prospector in Death Valley. Later, he was a reporter for the San Francisco *Chronicle* and the St. Louis *Globe Democrat*. From these experiences he returned to England in 1897, to edit a newspaper. In 1904, he founded the Paris *Daily Mail* for Alfred Harmsworth, better known as Lord Northcliffe. This association with the *Daily Mail* lasted the nine years before the first World War.

He has been a member of Parliament and has written a dozen books, among them "The Great Illusion," for which he is best known (1908); "The Story of Money" (1929); "Preface to Peace" (1935); "Peace with the Dictators?" (1937); "America's Dilemma" (1940); and, most recently, "Let the People Know." He is also the author of numerous magazine articles published on both sides of the Atlantic—all hammering at the need for a world philosophy and a world conscience. For his service to the cause of world peace, he was knighted in 1931 and received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1933.

Henry Seidel Canby wrote about him recently, "He is a sane, realistic, liberal Englishman, who . . . has lived in our climate of opinion for the last two years. He knows his world, and his England, and also America. And no one will doubt, after reading the first pages of 'Let the People Know,' that he knows John Citizen." And the Swedish Academy had this to say of him in 1934: "He still is busy in work dispelling the mist which hampers a clear view because he has a deep and warm belief in what he calls the potential nationalization of mankind."

—*SRL-Arni*

*POLITICAL CONDITIONS OF ALLIED SUCCESS. Putnam. 1918.

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must result in the competition for power and ultimately in armed conflict. At least one other writer, in books published actually during the last war, had declared bluntly that the world war then raging would, without any doubt whatsoever, be repeated unless the then victims of Germany took steps to render their future defense collective; that so long as a state situated as was Germany, possessing her potential power, was in a position to pick off her neighbors one by one—every one of them being conveniently weaker than herself—it would remain her policy so to do, that the only alternative was for those neighbors to pool their power for mutual resistance and offer to Germany the same security they claimed for themselves. Wilson saw this and proclaimed it, Lloyd George saw it and proclaimed it, as Asquith had done before him. Herriot and Briand in France, Benes in Czechoslovakia saw it and proclaimed it; men like Cecil, Gilbert Murray, Noël Baker, Lytton, Arthur Henderson in Britain, Smuts in South Africa; university men in America, like Lawrence Lowell, Shotwell, Nicholas Murray Butler, all proclaimed it. Yet John Smith in the mass listened very little and, obviously, never clearly understood their arguments. For about a year, it is true, popular feeling ran strongly in favor of participation in an international security system. Leaders of both political parties advocated "a League to Enforce Peace." And then—within a couple of years or so—the whole current of feeling had completely changed and was sweeping strongly in the opposite direction, fed by the Lodges and the Reeds, the William Randolph Hearsts, the McCormicks, and, in the years which followed, a whole great host of book and newspaper writers. "As a result," said Mr. Wendell Willkie the other day, telling the story in some detail, "we sacrificed a magnificent opportunity for leadership in strengthening and rehabilitating the democratic nations, in fortifying them against assault by the forces of aggression, which at that very moment were beginning to gather." The American people, he adds, "never deliberately and intentionally turned their backs on a program for international coöperation in an organization for maintaining world peace . . . they were betrayed by leaders without convictions who were thinking in terms of group vote catching."

But why, in order to catch the votes, was it profitable for politicians to bait the hook with isolationism, with refusal of all international coöperation? The demagogue evidently felt that the public as a whole had not really grasped the case for participation in an international security system; that its intellectual comprehension of the case was so uncertain that the old nationalist animosities could easily be once more aroused to swamp all rational argument. Wendell Willkie says very truly that the people were *confused* (it is the truth to which he returns in his analysis again and again). But for that confusion have we writers in the books and the press no responsibility? The politician must, after all, voice what he believes to be the common feeling. The forming and shaping of the people's mind is hardly the function of the politician. "I must follow them, for I am their leader," as the famous Frenchman, watching the mob surge down the boulevards, remarked to his friend. But surely it is not for us writers to follow the mob, but to warn it, inform it, open its eyes, and to help the politician do a good job instead of a bad one.

Comparative Isolation

What has just been said is as applicable to Britain as to America. Chronology differs: the return to isolationism, which in the United States was accomplished in two or three years, took ten or twelve in Britain. But the general swing of opinion was similar.

In so far as we writers are subject to indictment, it is mainly on these grounds: the truth now manifest in the event, the truth that no nation can defend itself alone, that the vital rights, like the right to national life, must be defended collectively or they cannot be defended at all, this truth was not clarified by the discussions during twenty years, in book and newspaper, which followed the last war. The fact, so far as the general public is concerned, was obscured by that discussion; the people became utterly confused, so confused that they clamored for a course of action (again as Willkie has pointed out) which was in a direction exactly opposite to that which it should have taken; they supported an elaborate body of neutrality legislation at a time when the principle of neutrality was bound to imperil every nation on the earth and was to condemn tens of millions to torment and death.

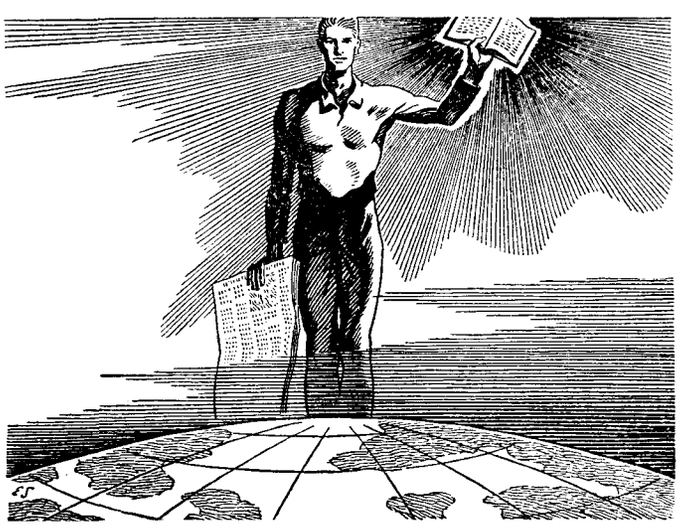
When we say now that the defensive interdependence of nations is today so manifest in the facts under our noses, that it is wearisome to labor the point, we perhaps overlook the fact that the thing was just as manifest in the events of 1918. This is not the first time that American troops have gone to the other side of the world in the defense of American freedom. In 1918, also, America and Britain defended France because if Germany overcame her and conquered the European continent the freedom of the British and the American peoples would be in deadly peril. The truth that we had to defend each other then stood out—for some of us at least—as clearly and starkly as it stands out now.

Just after the last war Lloyd George was asked in a personal conversation what he regarded as the outstanding lesson of the war, suggesting a policy which might prevent its repetition. And Lloyd George answered in the following manner:

> If only the nations which entered the war against Germany could have foreseen that they would have to do this, and had then said they would do it, unless Germany changed her policy, then there would have been no war. For Germany would have changed her policy. Statesmen don't enter wars for the purpose of being defeated; and Germany would have known that she could not possibly overcome at one and the same time Russia, plus France, plus Britain, plus Italy, plus America. But no living German had the faintest conception that American armies of millions would cross the Atlantic to fight her. She did not even believe that Britain would enter immediately, if at all. If America and Britain do not want to be compelled to do all this a second time, then they must announce clearly beforehand their intention to fight if similar circumstances should arise. Then they won't have to do it.

The effect of what Lloyd George said was this: If these countries will only say beforehand that they will do what they will certainly have to do if they don't say it, they won't have to do it.

How did we help our peoples to learn that lesson?



—From "The Four Freedoms."

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Our failures are reflected again, in the Neutrality Acts, in the reiterated passionate declarations never again to take part in foreign wars. . . .

What were the causes of the public confusion of mind which those Neutrality Acts and those declarations reflect?

Five Causes of Confusion

I suggest the following causes of confusion, not necessarily set forth in the order of their importance:

(1) Gross misinterpretation of the relation of political power to economic welfare, the kind of confusion reflected in Lindbergh's remark that "the cause of this war is that Britain owns too much of the world and Germany too little," when in fact Britain does not "own" the empire at all; failure to clarify such simple distinctions as that between owning and governing; misunderstanding of such problems as that of "access to raw materials," the difficulties of which are far more closely related to tariffs than to geographical distribution of territory between the powers; too great an emphasis on the economic motive, "profits," in analyzing and explaining the international problem; far too little emphasis on the motive of defense security, national survival, the desire of all nations to be strong in order to fight their enemies; too little recognition of the fact that wars arise from conflicts of nationalism rather than of rival economic interests.

(2) Too great an emphasis by the doctors in those twenty years of debate on the precise form of the organization of international action against aggression, on constitutions; and too little emphasis on the clarification of the underlying principle, so that that principle might dominate and guide policy in the day-to-day decisions of governments in the international field. Thus we had prolonged disagreements and intricate technical debate (among specialists, not the public) on the rival merits of League and Federation; on whether the organization should be regional; whether we should build a United States of Europe and another in the Western hemisphere; whether we should create an international police force, or call another international disarmament conference, or another world peace conference. . . . The plans of the future Utopia were as plentiful as blackberries in September. Meanwhile the nations were drifting nearer and nearer to a new Armageddon. What was urgent, what was important, was the next step in the stopping of that drift, not the precise form of some future Utopia: not the blueprint of the future world constitution, but the taking of the step which that morning's crisis called for—the ratification, back in 1919, of the Anglo-American guarantee to France (the disintegration of the peace began when that ratification was refused by the Anglo-Saxon powers), the decision to aid China when she was first attacked by Japan; notifying Mussolini that Britain would defend Ethiopia just as though it were Kenya or Kent; offering to send a British army to aid France in resisting Hitler's march into the Rhineland; lend-lease aid to the legitimate government of Spain when Mussolini and Hitler decided to destroy it. These would have been grave decisions, and had extremely little relevance to the dispute between a League and a Federation. But they would have been taken by a people really alive to the full meaning of the words "collective security." (Nearly every one of these steps was urged by organizations like the League of Nations Union in Great Britain, showing that sincere belief in the value of a given blueprint is not incompatible with belief in the need for piecemeal application of its underlying principle.)

—St. Louis Star-Times

The Coming Question

Had a vivid understanding of the principle activated public policy in day-to-day practice, the best form of its international organization would have grown up gradually. The principle has often been expresed in international policy without any formal organization at all, particularly in American and British experience. Of which more presently.

(3) The public was further confused by an even worse instance of irrelevant Utopianism; the insistence that we had to begin with the right economic organization of the world: must convert it to socialism, "blast the foundations of the old economic order"; that, since "capitalism is the cause of war," the first job was to get rid of capitalism. Which of course put the cart before the horse: no new economic order could be secure (as Russia is discovering) unless it could be defended; and it could only be defended collectively, by the coöperation (again as Russia is discovering) of capitalist and socialist states together. It is obviously easier—as the event abundantly proves—to secure common political action on the basis of defense of the nation's life than on the basis of defending a new order which has not yet even taken definite shape, and about which men bitterly disagree, and which can never and should never have a fixed form, since it must change from year to year. Sheer confusion of thought marks this quarrel between the primacy of the economic or the political. Socialism and international security agreements are not in conflict; the political arrangements are the instruments by which a new social order can be carried into effect and maintained. Political order is the tool of social change. To build a house you must have at least a hammer and a saw. It is futile to discuss whether these are more valuable than the house. You can't get the house without them.

(4) Confusion as to the function and nature of force in society. The first, and instinctive, protest against war is usually a pacifist protest. And in the years of post-war disillusion there was an upsurge of over-simplified, and, in a sense to be indicated presently, bogus pacifism; non-violence; Gandhiism; Oxford Union resolutions against fighting for king and country; outlawry of war—war to be put outside the law, though there would be no force to defend the law and a great deal of force challenging it.

(5) The implication which so much of the writing carried that the confusions above indicated were of small moment; that the obstacles to security did not lie in the puzzlements, indecisions, and confusions of the public mind but in the influence of vested interests like armament makers, international bankers, "Wall Street," "loan

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BOOKS ON THE POST-WAR WORLD

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mongers." Jewish and other, who, for some never clearly explained reason, were supposed to be in favor of war; the implication that in so far as the public needed warning they needed warning against the wiles of these Merchants of Death, or of British Propaganda. The truth being that if the armament makers had been a bit more successful here, and if British propaganda had achieved its purpose (assuming that there was in fact any propaganda and that it had any clear purpose) of enlisting American resistance to the Nazi menace at an early stage then there is at least a possibility there would never have been any war at all. The armament makers, Wall Street, the international financiers, the Jewish bankers, the British propagandists, were of course convenient scapegoats who furnished to a puzzled, tired, and bewildered public an explanation for what was wrong, an explanation that demanded much less effort than the facing of the question, Have I been supporting the right policy or the wrong? It is always pleasant to be told that the fault is another's, not ours; that another's wickedness, not our folly, is to blame.

Concerning the first of the above points: the American government of a hundred and twenty years ago saw clearly that if it permitted its neighbors to be picked off one by one it could be strategically overwhelmed and finally destroyed. Monroe stated the case in almost those terms, and when he said to Europe, "We shall regard an attack on any American Republic as an attack on us," he was applying the principle that the defense of other nations is indispensable to the defense of the United States. To that extent it was an application of the collective principle. It was collective, moreover, in the sense that the policy could not have been applied at all except with the coöperation of Great Britain; and if Monroe, Jefferson, and Madison had had their way as against Adams and Clay, we might have seen the Monroe Doctrine develop into an international security system in the modern sense of the term.

Broadly speaking, this Anglo-American move was entirely successful. Yet it was a somewhat arrogant assumption of power by the United States (backed by Britain) over the destinies of the Latin American republics. They indeed often resented it. But its unilateral character has in the course of time been completely modified: the republics themselves have been associated formally in this American collective system now known as "the good neighbor" policy. Had the theorists back in 1822 insisted that the policy could not be initiated without the for-

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mal consent of all the republics and the creation of an elaborate pan-American constitution, at a time when every American republic except this was in a state of chronic revolution, turbulence, instability, and disorder, it would never have come into being at all. The genesis—and the lessons applicable to our problems of today—of this phase of American policy might well have been more discussed this last twenty years than they have been.*

The other example of successful collective defense without elaborate constitutional provision is that of the nations of the British Commonwealth. The British Commonwealth has no Constitution, no central government, no central federal power, no central authority over its members. Each nation is independent and acts on its own authority. Yet the event proves that somehow there has been achieved sufficient cohesion among these new young democracies scattered throughout the world to get common action in the face of external danger. Note the circumstances in which they chose to come into the war. Britain had declared war as the result of Hitler's attack on Poland. The defense of Poland might seem as remote from any interest of a Canada or an Australia or a New Zealand as any issue could well be. There was no constitutional obligation or compulsion on their part to come in; they could have stayed out, as Eire did. Yet all except Eire came in. If they had not done so, Britain could not have stood up in 1940, and would have been compelled to follow the example of France and to surrender. What brought them in, and what thereby prevented the victory of the Axis, was not any tight constitutional provision, but the sense of defensive interdependence; the sense of the need for hanging together, for maintaining the principle that "an attack on one is an attack on all." In the Commonwealth the feeling is rooted largely in historical background, kept alive by refusal to part with old symbols of unity (*e.g.*, the Crown). But the sense of interdependence was there even in the case of Smuts, who had led the armies of the Boer republics against Britain.

Prerequisite for Order

Without some similar sense no world constitution can work. Was it not the job of writers during the long armistice of 1918-1939 to help develop that sense between nations that did not have the historical ties? Not all the writing had that effect or seems, indeed, to have had that purpose.

Note, incidentally, that both the American and British collective systems worked without economic guarantees. The Latin-American republics, over whom was thrown the protection of the Monroe Doctrine, can make what tariffs they like against the United States; so can the nations of the British Commonwealth against Britain, and against each other.

This fact bears on point two enumerated above. If, as the Dominions during the nineteenth century developed towards dominion status, Britain—dependent as her densely populated islands are upon foreign trade—had insisted upon "economic guarantees," access to the raw materials of the Dominions, trading rights, it is extremely doubtful (especially in view of certain experiences in 1776) whether there would have been a British Commonwealth of Nations at all. The Dominions have complete fiscal independence; make their own tariffs, can shut out British goods, and British immigrants. One supreme consideration has dominated British motive first and last: that the nations of the Commonwealth shall all stand together in the presence of aggression. Given that, the rest can be adjusted. Perhaps the future holds greater economic integration for the Commonwealth. (The initiative in the Ottawa agreements—dubious agreements—came from the Dominions, not from Britain.) But the one thing which alone has enabled the British nations throughout the world to survive was the effectiveness of political coöperation based upon an idea, a sense, an "instinct."

—*Grano*

The experience of the United States bears equally upon certain of the arguments suggested in point two. "Capitalism is the cause of war." Capitalism has not caused war between Maine and Massachusetts, or Pennsylvania and Ohio. But it might have done so if the political situation of those states had been different: if they had been fully independent nations, each with its own army and navy, in competition with each other instead of being pooled for common defense. If the experience of small independent Latin-American states (Paraguay, Bolivia) is any guide, the original thirteen colonies would, as completely independent nations, have drifted toward war at times. They have remained at peace with each other, not because they have abolished capitalism, an economic thing, but because they have abolished sovereignty, independence, isolationism, political things. The fact to which they owe their peace is a political fact, federalism. That federal bond may be close and stiff, as in the United States, or extremely loose, so loose indeed as to have no statutory sanction at all, as in the case of the British Commonwealth.

It is strange to what extent writers, these last twenty years, have fallen for certain aspects of German propaganda, like Germany's alleged lack of access to raw material. Schacht at one point had the effrontery to declare that it was a life and death matter for Germany's industry to recover her colonies. How, otherwise, said Schacht, could Germany get raw materials? A considerable part of the writing world thereupon concluded, "Germany is throttled." When Germany possessed all her colonies, the proportion of the raw materials used in her industry which she drew from these colonies was one-half of one per cent. And she could have drawn that proportion if they had not been colonies: she drew just as much from them after she "lost" them. Did it completely escape the notice of the world that the highest standards of living anywhere in the old world (much higher than in imperial countries like Britain) existed in such lesser states as Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, which possessed no colonies, did not want them, made no claims to them, did not worry

*Jefferson's comments on the initiation of the Monroe Doctrine are so little known, and have such striking relevance to present problems, that they are worth quoting. Referring to the activities of the Holy Alliance, he wrote:

"While Europe is laboring to become the domicile of despotism, our endeavor surely should be to make our hemisphere that of freedom. One nation most of all could disturb us in this pursuit. She now offers to lend aid, and accompany us in it. By acceding to her propositions we detach her from the bands, bring her mighty weight into the scale of free government, and emancipate a continent at one stroke, which might otherwise linger in doubt and difficulty. Great Britain is the nation which can do us the most harm of any, or all, on earth; and with her on our side we need not fear the whole world. With her then we should most sedulously cherish a cordial friendship, and nothing would more tend to knit our affections than to be fighting once more side by side in the same cause. Not that I would purchase even her amity at the price of taking part in her wars. But the war in which the present proposition might engage us, should that be its consequence, is not her war, but ours. . . . But I am clearly of Mr. Canning's opinion that it would prevent instead of provoking war. With Great Britain withdrawn from their scale and shifted into that of our two continents, all Europe combined would not undertake such a war. For how would they propose to get at their enemy without superior fleets? Nor is the occasion to be slighted which this proposition offers of declaring our protest against the atrocious violations of the rights of nations by the interference of any one in the internal affairs of another, so flagitiously begun by Bonaparte, and now continued by the equally lawless alliance calling itself Holy."

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in the least about guaranteed access to raw materials? These little nations had always been able to get such materials, as Germany had been (as her accumulated war material proved) before both of the wars which she launched. The greatest obstacle to obtaining raw materials was not the very rare cases where materials were withheld or monopolized but the rising tariffs of the world, which prevented a nation's selling its goods, and so finding money for payment.

Misconception of these simple facts gave rise to strange misreadings of the real forces at work, as well as a curious cynicism concerning the whole problem of international organization. It was not merely the Lindberghs who said, "The war has come because Britain owns too much of the earth and Germany too little." Able and distinguished authorities like Professor E. H. Carr solemnly argued before the war that all the talk about peace and security was mere camouflage put out by the "haves" for maintaining their privileged position as against the "have-nots."* He went on to argue, as a consequence, that there was very little morally to choose between the war-making and the peace-keeping powers. "There can be no such thing," he insisted, "as a common collective resistance to aggression, nor is it any more moral to resist aggression than to commit it, for readiness to fight to prevent change is just as immoral as readiness to enforce it."

Hardly the sort of doctrine upon which could be built a very passionate belief in the cause for which we are now supposed to be fighting.

Aggression and "Bunk"

Consider its moral effect in the years before the war, when some of us were trying to rally the nations against aggression, to persuade the world that it had a common interest in the prevention of aggression, that it was the one common interest which it did possess. "Bunk! All it means," argued the smart ones of the day, "is that we want to keep what we've got." For some reasons younger intellectuals of the time seemed to find this a particularly attractive doctrine: proof, perhaps, that *they* were not suckers, that they were tough guys who knew their way about. Many would not support the League, nor any plan of international security; nor would they admit the validity of any principle upon which peace policy might be based. Suppose it to be true that we were the "haves" and therefore full of sin, what were we to do about it? Well, "end the empire; grant everybody independence"—which, of course, also

TWENTY YEARS OF CRISIS, Macmillan p. 104.

—Philadelphia Record

Their Road Back

meant cease to take responsibility for the defense of the new independencies. This at a moment when Japan was overrunning an ill-defended Manchuria and China, Italy an ill-defended Ethiopia, Germany and Italy together were destroying an ill-defended Spain, and Germany was soon to start upon the destruction, in turn, of an indefensible Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Norway, Denmark, Belgium, and France. And you could do nothing about it, averred the intellectuals, because if you attempted to stop it, you would just be a lot of hypocrites pretending to defend peace, when in fact you were defending your own predominant position; and, in any case, "there can be no such thing as a common collective resistance to aggression." Besides, as so many of the federationists would have proved to you at the time, you cannot base any society upon the coercion of states; and, as an eminent British theologian wrote a book in 1935 to prove, sanctions in restraint of Japan or Italy were "coercion." (The pacifists were opposing sanctions against either state). One would have thought that the purpose of sanctions was not to coerce aggressors but to prevent them from coercing their victims.

Within a month of the writing of these lines there have appeared, in pronouncements on the international situation, these propositions:

We do not need collective action against aggression because after the similar "revolutionary upheaval" of Napoleonic times there were a hundred years of peace with only limited wars; so we shall get a similar period of peace after the disappearance of Hitler. Wars are caused by capitalism provoking poverty: governments resort to war because they are afraid of their poverty-stricken people and seek foreign diversions; no international sanctions will suffice to overcome "inner compulsions" to fight, and peace must await the disappearance of such "inner compulsions."

Was it poverty which carried Germany to war in 1914, a period of rapid economic expansion for her, one of great prosperity, her economic standards rapidly rising? What was the "inner compulsion" which made Britain fight in 1914 when she was not directly attacked and Germany would have done anything to induce her to remain neutral? Why the same thing in 1939, when obviously Hitler would have much preferred to have had no interference in his destruction of Poland? It was, in 1914 as in 1939, an external, not an inner, compulsion which caused Britain to fight: the knowledge that German victory would place Britain at Germany's mercy, render Britain defenseless, impotent to oppose alien domination. But allied victory rendered Germany, in 1919, in her turn, impotent to oppose alien domination, provoking thus within Germany rebellion against what Hitler was able to represent as national defenselessness. Under the old anarchy, security of the one meant the insecurity of the other. "Balance of Power" is no remedy. A nice balance is too easily upset. The Anglo-French military preponderance of Europe was turned into German military preponderance within a week, by the shift over of Russia from one side to the other, or to neutrality. Less and less will limited and local wars be possible: the annihilation of space, the shrinking of the world, make every country a next-door neighbor.

To read now, after the event, the political literature of the period 1925-1940 is to get an impression of hopeless intellectual and moral confusion, contradiction and chaos. Much of the writing was devoted to proving conclusively that the nations could not possibly, would not, and should not, do what they are now doing: oppose collectively the aggression which threatens them. If only they could have been persuaded that they would do this, that it was not only possible to do, but that it was exactly what they would be compelled to do—if they could have realized that, they might have avoided having to do it. Is it not time we profited by past error?

The next issue of The Saturday Review *will feature a round-table discussion of Mr. Angell's article. Contributors will include James Truslow Adams, John Chamberlain, Max Lerner, and Allan Nevins.*

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The Making of the Future

THE WORLD AFTER WAR. By Henry Bamford Parkes. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell. 1942. 240 *pp.* $2.50.

Reviewed by HUGH GIBSON

IN this soberly reasoned essay on the problems that will confront us when we come to make the peace Dr. Parkes has made a valuable contribution to clear thinking.

He starts from the assertion that peace and security can come only from the exercise of power which makes justice possible. In a foreword he says:

> We may hope that in some future epoch justice and power will always coincide; but we must recognize that in the society in which we live they are often divorced from each other, and that nations must seek to achieve both of them. Power without justice is the objective of Germany and Japan, but justice without power is too often the aim of liberal idealists. In reconstructing the world after the war we must accept the requirements of both power and justice and concede to each of them their proper role in international affairs.

The failure of Versailles he attributes to lack of unity among the victors who had entered the war with different objectives and were united only in their desire for the defeat of Germany. The result was an inevitable clash when the time came to embody their objectives in a single treaty. President Wilson was convinced that there could be lasting peace only if based on justice and coöperation. Clemenceau pinned his hopes on force. Where there might have been a peace based on a workable combination of both conceptions the treaty was a compromise which achieved neither. The consequences are summarized as follows:

> . . . . while it must be recognized that a peace settlement can be maintained only by force, it is also true that sufficient force cannot be mobilized when the peace settlement is characterized by gross and obvious injustices. This fact Clemenceau failed to recognize. By imposing punitive peace terms upon the defeated Germans, he made it certain that when, in due course, they began to rebel against their humiliation, France's former allies would refuse to join her in enforcing obedience to the Versailles treaty.

There was indeed failure to recognize that wars must stay won. The victors considered their task finished and went their several ways. Dr. Parkes believes that the second world war was rendered inevitable, not by the treaty, but by the failure of the victors, notably America and Britain, to continue their coöperation in maintaining the peace while remedying any well-founded grievances of the vanquished. It is from this starting point that he leads to his conclusions.

An interesting chapter on "Justice and Power" dwells upon the dangers of thinking about international rivalries in utopian terms. The ideals of the international utopian are treated with respect, but it is pointed out that a legion of hates and fears will be active for a long period and that no settlement can remain intact unless the victorious powers maintain preponderance of military power "to maintain

Henry Bamford Parkes wants the United Nations to stay united.

the status quo." Although this expression recurs from time to time other comments justify the belief that Dr. Parkes does not advocate maintaining the status quo in all its rigidity. Any such effect might well lead to the maintenance of intolerable provisions and it is to be hoped that we shall introduce a new note in peace settlements by providing methods of revision or peaceful change as a safety valve rather than risk imprisoning dangerous pressures until they explode.

The author is convinced that without American participation there is no hope of a stable world order. And he is equally convinced that active participation in world affairs is in no way incompatible with our traditions; that there is a remarkable consistency in our foreign policy and that "changes in its methods have been due not to the adoption of new objectives but to changes in world conditions." The summary in support of these contentions is worthy of more extended comment.

In considering the instruments at our disposal for maintaining peace Dr. Parkes deals at some length with the League of Nations and with the idea of federation. He believes that the League has a useful role to play and should be revived. However, this is fundamentally to provide machinery for coöperation where nations desire to coöperate and to facilitate the avoidance of controversy. From this beginning he envisages the possibility that the League may develop indefinitely in usefulness and authority. However, he is keenly alive to the danger of expecting it to achieve the impossible. Its fundamental weakness as stated is that the League can settle disputes which nations are willing to submit, but that this does not include the sort of disputes which lead to war. These are conflicts for power which are not susceptible of mutual agreement and which can be prevented only by superiority of power. It is true that these disputes often arise from specific claims which could be settled if both parties were willing. But there is no such willingness because more fundamental issues are involved.

Dr. Parkes does not find the same grounds for hope in the idea of federal union, whether in the form of world federation, British-American union, or regional federations. He deals incisively with the American experience with federation so frequently cited in support of extending the system on an international scale. After discussing the analogies that are usually put forward he presents some others less encouraging. In our own case federation was achieved with great difficulty largely under pressure of fear of external aggression. It is a disconcerting thought that if such fear was essential to European federation we might well find ourselves in the role of bogey. After discussing the dangers and disadvantages of various forms of federation we are left with the conclusion that if the war does not result in a federal union it is hardly likely that the peace will do so.

In the light of this analysis Dr. Parkes reaches the conclusion that our most urgent problem is to make the United Nations stay united after the war, to prevent conflicts for power among them, and finally to have the United Nations make a peace they will afterwards be willing to defend.

Dr. Parkes thus leaves us with a statement of our problem and the ends we should seek. He offers no plan for the achievement of these ends. This is not a criticism for his book is purely and frankly a diagnosis—an essential beginning. But the penetration he has shown in this approach leads us to hope that he will outline his views as to the approach to peacemaking.

Hugh Gibson is the co-author with Herbert Hoover of "The Problems of Lasting Peace." He has had a career as diplomat and at present is attached to the firm of Doubleday, Doran & Company.

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Common Sense for a Common Peace

THE PEACE WE FIGHT FOR. By Hiram Motherwell. New York: Harper & Bros. 1943. 281 *pp.* $3.

Reviewed by VERA MICHELES DEAN

THERE is more solid common sense packed into this small, loose-jointed book than is usually found in most of the long-winded dissertations on post-war reconstruction. Mr. Motherwell, who spent many years in Europe as a member of the foreign staff of the distinguished newspaper, the *Chicago Daily News,* writes out of experience with the harsh realities of international life and not, as so many spinners of world Utopias, out of benevolent wishful thinking. The result is that he gives the reader a very clear idea of the manifold difficulties that will have to be faced and overcome in the reconstruction of Europe, but sees no reason to despair of the future, provided the United Nations succeed in making a "people's peace."

Mr. Motherwell starts with the assumption, unfortunately too often overlooked by most writers on the subject, that the armies of liberation and rehabilitation will face, on landing in Europe, not the organized efficiently functioning governments we may have known in 1939, but what he aptly calls a "fragmentation" of all the countries of the continent into many local and vocational groups which, in the midst of national disintegration through war and civil conflict, have succeeded in maintaining some degree of cohesion, and have defied Nazi efforts at "collaboration." It is out of these groups, by a gradual process of adjustment and compromise, that the United Nations may eventually hope to construct new governments capable of working with each other in the world organization of the future. Meanwhile, however, the first demand of the liberated peoples, as Mr. Motherwell points out, will be not: "For whom shall I vote?" but "How do I get something to eat?"

The answer to this question of men, women, and children who have endured malnutrition or outright starvation will have to be given by the countries of the Western Hemisphere—the United States, Canada, Argentina, which will still have supplies of food on hand at the close of the war; and we might as well face the fact right now that, to feed Europe, we shall have to continue after the war the rationing we have accepted in wartime. In fact, our willingness to make personal sacrifices for the sake of remedying conditions in Europe will be the first—and decisive—test of our willingness to collaborate with other peoples in the post-war period. If we fail on this issue of life and death, little hope can be held out for the future of world organization.

—*From "The Four Freedoms."*

Mr. Motherwell is right on so many points that the only way to do justice to the ideas he throws out in disjointed, but always stimulating, fashion would be to quote from every other page. He rightly insists that food should be distributed in Europe without discrimination against the Axis powers, or anyone else, solely on the basis of need—and should not be used, under any circumstances, as a political weapon, to bring to power or bar from power any given group on the continent. He points out that, for "technical economic reasons" (of which, after 1919, our refusal to accept payment in commodities was a most important one), Europe will be unable to pay for the food sent by the Western Hemisphere during "the early reconstruction period," —and that during this period food will represent largely a free gift from the United States "or rather an investment in world stability costing but a fraction in addition to what military victory will have cost." The task of relief and rehabilitation, he believes, should be intrusted to a "super-government" set up by the United Nations, but this super-government, in his opinion, should deliver relief supplies for the most part to the local authorities. If these authorities should later be shown to have resorted to abuses, it will be for the local populations to correct such abuses.

In this connection Mr. Motherwell hammers home a point completely overlooked by many of our liberal writers—and that is that the United Nations cannot and should not bring military pressure to bear on governments of which they disapprove. They "will have to work with any sort of government, national or local, which can manage to keep the peace, or, where such government does not exist, with any responsible or social or economic bodies. . . . The United Nations' task will not be to impose peace, freedom, or democracy on the continent—that

is beyond the power of any human agency—but to create the conditions in which all peoples will have a chance to secure these things for themselves." That, incidentally, is the only democratic way of going about the reconstruction of Europe, although some writers, while denouncing Nazi methods, give the impression that the United Nations should impose their own ideas and practices by force on reconquered territories.

Where Mr. Motherwell tends to be vague, and to this reviewer unrealistic, is when he comes to discussing the actual political framework of Europe after the war. His proposal for a federation of Western Europe fails completely to come to grips with the question of the role Germany and Russia may play in post-war Europe. But he is on solid ground again when, later in his analysis, he points out that "no federal constitution can be worked out in the study and imposed on Europe by soldiers," and reaches the conclusion that "only a federation resulting from the struggle and balance of interests among the European peoples themselves can have any vitality."

Vera Micheles Dean is Research Director of the Foreign Policy Association, for which she has written a pamphlet entitled "The Struggle for World Order." She is also the author of "Europe in Retreat."

A Poetry Contest

A special contest will be held during the month of March, 1943, for the purpose of selecting the book to be published by the League to Support Poetry on a royalty basis in October, 1943. The competition is open to all poets who have a book-manuscript of poetry ready for publication. Either published or unpublished poems may be included. Manuscripts should be sent, together with the registration fee of fifty cents and a self-addressed large envelope bearing sufficient return postage, to Dorothy Hobson, Director, The League to Support Poetry, 327 West 18th Street, New York City.

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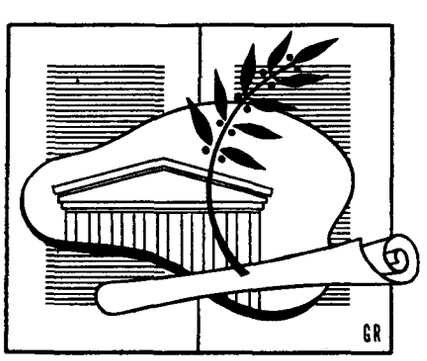
A Reporter Measures the War

WE CANNOT ESCAPE HISTORY. By John T. Whitaker. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1943. 367 *pp.* $2.75.

Reviewed by JOHN MACCORMAC

MR. WHITAKER'S book is a history of the origins of the war. As such it traverses ground traveled before by other newspapermen. But it is well worth while taking the trip again with Mr. Whitaker since he seems to have had exceptional opportunities to read the minds of the Caesars who fashioned history between the two world wars. We find him, for instance, advising Mussolini to take his legionaries out of Spain rather than risk the disastrous defeat that came at Guadalajara, or being summoned to the Palazzo Venezia by the dictator to be told that, "Next fall I am going to invite Hitler to come into Austria and make Austria German." All this is told with a considerable power of description and in an easy style through which an engaging personality reveals itself.

The German and Italian chapters are by far the best part of the book. About Germany Mr. Whitaker's thesis is that when Hitler liquidated the S.A. after the blood purge of 1934 he became a prisoner of the German Army and has remained in bondage to it ever since. "In the moment when they envisage the military defeat of Germany the generals will hand Hitler over to the United Nations or hand him a revolver." Not because Hitler overruled them did the generals press on disastrously toward Moscow in 1941 instead of going promptly into a winter defensive but because it was necessary to insure that Japan would attack the United States. Nazi Germany in outlook and program is the Germany of Frederick and Bismarck and Wilhelm. It has never been the industrialists who ruled there but the soldiers. The industrialists, in due course, were betrayed like the workers. The Nazis were not interested in trade or production except for war. They sought their profit in the form of plunder.



And what a profit! From France alone they have extorted every six months as much as they paid the Allies in more than six years under the much condemned Versailles Treaty. In the first year of war they collected from their victims the whole cost of their armament program.

Mr. Whitaker obviously likes the Italians better than the Germans. Even in Mussolini he finds the redeeming honesty of the complete cynic, the demagogue who can interrupt Olympian thunderings from the top of a tank to ask Ciano, "How am I doing?" When England and France showed themselves weak in the face of a rising Germany it became "elemental that Italy could not oppose her policies to those of Hitler." Mussolini blundered finally into war because he believed Britain was finished like France. Now the Italian people feel disillusioned, disgusted, and disgraced. But only when the Germans are actually in retreat will they be ready to raise their knives against them and their own Fascist overlords.

"A Slight Case of Murder" is the title of Mr. Whitaker's chapter on Spain. It will bring little comfort to those Americans who misconceived Franco's conspiracy, like Hitler's, as the combatting of Communism. He quotes one of Franco's chief press officers to the effect that his program is "to exterminate one-third of the male population of Spain." He tells how he had to stand by horrified while Spanish girl workers were handed over to Franco's Moorish soldiers for violation and death. He suggests it would be in the public interest to investigate the activities of certain New York corporations against the liberal Spanish Government, even after it expelled the agents whom Stalin, for his own purposes, had sent to Spain.

Three months before France fell, says Mr. Whitaker, Petain and Laval were negotiating with Hitler. Yet he justifies the Vichy policy of the State Department and the United States Army, although he admits that "ultimately the issue of Morocco and the fleet was determined by force."

With Mr. Whitaker's conclusions about the Vichy policy not all will agree. Perhaps analysis is not his strong point. In dealing with Russia, for instance, he writes that "In spite of the inefficiencies of Communism and the crippling effects of a party dictatorship Stalin, thanks to the Five-Year plans, had made gigantic forward steps." This is equivalent to saying that despite the inefficiencies of Communism Stalin, thanks to its efficiency, was able to take gigantic forward steps. For is planning not also a part of Communism? He writes that Russian rearmament was outpaced by Germany qualitatively and quantitatively, a statement the facts do not seem to bear out. Finally, on page 288, he says that "Communism, like Fascism, is essentially a wartime economy," whereas on page 357 we are told: "Because Communism was able to create this economic expansion the Soviet Union desired peace and was under no compulsion to conquer and loot."

John T. Whitaker: "Hitler is a prisoner of the German Army."

John MacCormac is the author of the recently published "This Time for Keeps." He is attached to the Washington Bureau of The New York Times.

Pamphlets on the Coming Peace

EXCLUSIVE of war agencies, of which forty are engaged in postwar planning, more than sixty private organizations are studying the makings of a lasting and happy peace. All these agencies are doing a good job of reporting to the American citizen. Perhaps the most comprehensive survey is that issued in 1942 by the Council on Foreign Relations of New York City, compiled by its librarian, Ruth Savord. Useful summaries have been published by the United Nations Information Service of New York, and by the Twentieth Century Fund under whose imprint G. B. Galloway's "Post-War Planning in the United States" appeared in 1942. The text of the official peace aims (treaties and documents) has been published by the United Nations Information Service in New York and by the National Peace Council in London.

The American Library Association's "Public Documents and World War II"

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(Chicago, Wilcox, 1942) contains valuable articles by R. E. Scudder, L. Salamanca, and J. K. Wilcox, and, in addition to general material, includes information on foreign government publications. American government agencies are surveyed in "Government Manual," while the publications of these agencies are covered in "The Monthly Catalog of the United States Public Documents," though some of the excellent material issued in the form of press releases is not listed here.

The National Planning Association issues a monthly publication, *The Public Policy Digest,* which is a guide and subscription service to government publications concerned with the war and post-war plans. Finally, the Carnegie Endowment for the Advancement of Peace carries the problem of post-war planning into John Smith's kitchen and front yard in a series of pamphlets entitled "We Travel though we Stay at Home." Valuable bibliographies have been published by the Peace Section of the American Friends Committee.

Pamphlets on the Post-War World

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Brodie, Fawn M.	Peace Aims and Post-War Planning. World Peace Foundation, Boston. 1942
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American Jewish Committee, Research Institute on Peace and Post-War Problems	Jewish Post-War Problems — A study course, 6 units. 1942-43
The Atlantic Charter	The Eight-Point Declaration of President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill. August 14, 1941. Available in reprint from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, New York.
Bates, S. M.	Half of Humanity: Far Eastern Peoples and Problems. Church Peace Union. 1942.
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace	Handbook for Discussion Leaders on America's Problems as Affected by International Relations. Contains eight articles for discussion on interdependence, world trade, agriculture, health, labor, youth, the organization of peace, inter-American relations; a section on methods of discussion; a section on where to get information; and a Supplementary Reading List. International Conciliation, published monthly except July and August. Contains articles and documents on international relations. We Travel Though We Stay at Home, mimeographed programs showing interdependence of nations as it existed at outbreak of the war. One set of programs free. 1. World on Wheels (automobiles) 2. The Ties That Bind (clothing, textiles) 3. Foreign Trade and the Pantry Shelf (food) 4. Foreign Footprints in the Home (home furnishings, art, music) 5. Machine Age in America (farm and office machinery, telephones) 6. Our Neighbors—North and South (trade and cultural relations)
Case, L. D.	A World to Live In. Rotary International. 1943
Commission to Study The Bases of a Just and Durable Peace	A Message from the National Study Conference of the Churches and a Just and Durable Peace (Delaware Conference). 1942
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Culbertson, Ely	The World Federation Plan. World Federation, Inc. 1942
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Ezekiel, Mordecai	Lines of Action in Economic Reconstruction. Antioch Review, Fall 1941. Reprinted by Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
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Hanc, J.	Dependent Areas in the Post-War World. World Peace Foundation. 1942
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Johnson, J. W.	The Coming Generation in Europe. Post-War World Council. 1942
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Kirk, G., and W. R. Sharp	Uniting Today for Tomorrow. Foreign Policy Association. 1942
Laidler, H.	Role of Races in the Future Civilization. League for Industrial Democracy. 1942
Macgruder, E. C.	Basic Issues of War and Peace. National Student Council. 1943
Mallery, Otto T.	Typical Plans for Post-War World Peace. International Conciliation (Carnegie Endowment) No. 384, November 1942
Millspaugh, A. C.	Peace Plans and American Choices. The Brookings Institution. 1942
National Planning Association	For a Better Post-War Agriculture. 1942 Guides for Post-War Planning. 1941 International Development Loans. 1942 Relief for Europe. 1942 When Demobilization Day Comes. 1942
National Peace Conference	Bricks for Building World Government to Win the Peace. 1942
Pickard, B.	Peacemaker's Dilemma. Pendle Hill Pamphlets. 1942
Staley, Eugene	Toward a Durable Peace. Common Sense, April 1942. Reprinted by Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
Stewart, M. S.	After the War? Public Affairs Pamphlets. 1942
Thomas, N.	World Federation, What Are the Difficulties? Post-War World Council. 1942
Wallace, Henry A.	The Price of Free World Victory. Fischer, for the Free World Association. 1942
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The Human Fabric

WAR IS PEOPLE. By Lorna Lindsley. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1943. 273 *pp.* $2.75.

Reviewed by F. C. WEISKOPF

THERE is a chapter in Miss Lindsley's book which begins as follows: "On a day in May I received a letter from a friend. I call him a friend, although I had only seen him once in my life for half an hour, but we were united by the same beliefs and caught by the same entanglements. We had met just before the fall of Spain, and it was the fall of France which was to prevent us meeting a second time."

It is this kind of story—the true story of the little man in the great European tornado of the late thirties and early forties—which Miss Lindsley tells us in a very humble and matter of fact way. Yes, such stories happen not once but ten thousand times: you meet somebody for half an hour just before the fall of one European country, and your later letter gets lost in the holocaust of another Nazi conquest, and when you think "the thread on which our friendship was strung is now definitely broken" you hear from your friend again, this time from another hemisphere where he was able to find an asylum.

There are many more stories in Miss Lindsley's book. They are very different as to their heroes and localities and factual plots. But they all have one thing in common: they tell the epic of endurance and courage in a fight which sometimes looks heroic, but more often proves to be only burdensome and cruel; which is not reported in the official war communiques but represents an essential part of the great struggle of our times . . . in the fight of the common man for his modest share of human dignity and peace.

Miss Lindsley tells us of a great number of people she has seen and known and worked with. They are people of many different nationalities and types, caught up in many different ways on the frantic fringe of war. And while telling about them, her own personality becomes more and more plastic and familiar to the reader who recognizes in her a good soldier of the army which she describes . . . a good soldier whose words ring true when he says at the end of his stories: "I should be impatient to rejoin the battle. I wanted to stay close to the enemy. I wanted to stay near the people of France restive in their chains, and to the people of Spain waiting to rise again."

"War Is People" is a thoroughly honest, warm, and human book.

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The Form and the Structure

HOW TO WIN THE PEACE. By Carl J. Hambro. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1943. 384 *pp.* $3.

Reviewed by PETER F. DRUCKER

OF the statesmen from the small countries who worked so hard to make the League of Nations a success, and who so often showed better judgment, greater ability, and greater honesty than the diplomats and foreign ministers of the Great Powers, none worked harder than Carl J. Hambro of Norway. Dr. Benes was the chief diplomatist of Geneva; the Swedes Nansen and Branting were the great humanitarians who toiled unceasingly to combat suffering and cruelty; Ireland furnished a bevy of distinguished international administrators; and the Dutch sent economists and were forever busy combatting the economic nationalism of the Great Powers.

But, though far less well-known to the newspapermen and to the public, Mr. Hambro was perhaps the most useful man in the Geneva of the late twenties and early thirties when the League time and again seemed ready to become what its founders had expected it to be: a real international organization of peace. He was the Parliamentarian of Geneva, the man who could always find a procedural formula to do things, who could get the unwilling representatives of the Great Powers to make the minor concessions needed to keep the show going, who could heal diplomatic breaches, gloss over indiscretions, reconcile personal clashes, and find a way out of impossible situations. He represented a type otherwise unknown in Geneva—or, for that matter, in the Europe of the Long Armistice. He never indulged in the moral cynicism which passed for conservatism in the foreign offices of the Great Powers—and of a good many small powers as well. Yet, he was worlds apart from the well-meaning visionaries. He was—and is—a shrewd judge of power-politics who, nevertheless, believes in basic values; and he is an idealist—in the best sense of the word—who is not above horse-trading in the interest of his ideals. If the maintenance of the League of Nations had been a problem of political tactics, patience, and parliamentary skill, Mr. Hambro would have maintained it.

This present book shows, unfortunately, very little of the man whom everybody in Geneva respected and not a few loved. His great parliamentary skill has led the author to concentrate on questions of parliamentary procedure, technique, and machinery. Mr. Hambro undoubtedly has a definite concept of the basis of peace. He believes in world-federation, he is convinced that the League of Nations must be the starting-point for all peace-planning, and he sees the main problem as one of neutralizing the Great Powers. But he does not argue any of his points. And while the reader will applaud his insistence that the small countries not be bullied by the Great Powers, he will hardly be satisfied with Mr. Hambro's proposal to solve the problem by means of parliamentary technique; it is fruitless to attempt the reconciliation of the conflicting claims of national sovereignty and of an international order by tinkering with the voting rules or with the seating arrangements of a council whose decision no Great Power is willing to accept. And altogether the best part of Mr. Hambro's concrete suggestions are in the field of procedural details, whereas, as he himself points out often enough, it is fundamentals which we need today.

The reader will probably in this, as in so many post-war plans, enjoy the negative and critical parts more than the positive and constructive ones. He will find a great deal that is important and worthwhile in Mr. Hambro's criticism of the policy of Great Britain and of the United States, in his serious and strong attack against the school which regards economics as the most important part of peace-making, and in his remarks on the limits of peace-planning. And altogether it might well be said that this is a book in which the *obiter dicta* are often more important and more profound than the thesis itself.

Carl J. Hambro would neutralize the Great Powers.

Peter F. Drucker is the author of "The End of Economic Man," and "The Future of Economic Man."

An Anticipatory Rebuttal

DEMOCRATIC IDEALS AND REALITY. By Halford J. Mackinder. Foreword by Major G. F. Eliot. Introduction by Professor E. M. Earle. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1942. 219 *pp.* $2.50.

Reviewed by JACQUES BARZUN

THIS is a reprint of a book on modern political geography first published in 1919 and thoroughly neglected between that time and this. As so often happens when the public is behindhand in its thinking, recognition had to come to the author from abroad, on the rebound. It came, indeed, not merely from a foreigner but from a declared enemy, the notorious General Karl Haushofer, elaborator of the supposed science of Geopolitics.

It is not that Sir Halford Mackinder was an obscure or unqualified writer twenty-three years ago, nor that Haushofer has simply copied him. The British writer was a well-known geographer, who pleaded, not for world conquest, but for a recognition of continental configuration in the political settlements of the last war. It was he who originated the terms Heartland and World Island and showed the relation between the military command of East Europe and that of the whole world. He was one of the few observers of that era to see how nearly Germany had succeeded in the First World War; and being concerned—as his title shows—with democratic ideals, he urged a political reorganization of Europe into three, not two, state-systems, working within a general League of Nations. The details of his proposal are still worth pondering. They are the anticipatory rebuttal to Haushofer who was to turn him inside out by denying his major premise of European peace. At times the British geographer is confused in his exposition, but it is his syntax, and not his thoughts, that thwarts him and the reader. Still the book is short, the words simple, and the main propositions perfectly intelligible. As Professor Earle says in his lucid and helpful introduction, "although this book can be read and reread with profit by specialists it is by no means for them alone."

Jacques Barzun is the author of "Darwin, Marx, and Wagner," and "Of Human Freedom." He is Professor of History at Columbia University.

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Controlling Germany After the War

CAN WE WIN THE PEACE? By Paul Einzig. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1942. 148 *pp.* $2.

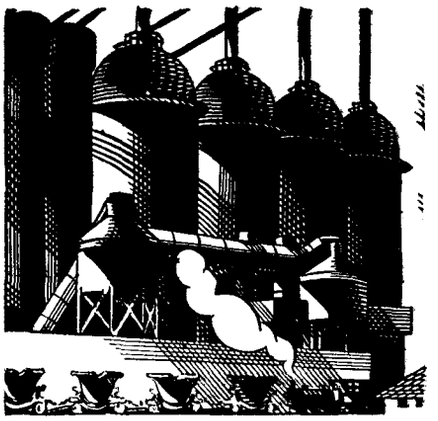
Reviewed by CHESTER W. WRIGHT

THIS book has been written to oppose the groups in England which the author calls the "appeasers" and advocates of a peace that he believes will be too lenient toward Germany. Its main thesis is that Germany must not only be completely demilitarized but that her economic life must be so limited and controlled that there can be no possibility of her quickly rearming as in 1933-39. While this thesis was advanced in an earlier book, the author here seeks to state in more detail just how he believes such a program can be carried out without at the same time appreciably lowering the standard of living of the German people, the fear of which it is realized would be the chief objection to the plan among most "appeasers." The necessity for such a program rests on the assertion that the present generation in Germany, especially in Prussia, is incurably militaristic and would seize on the first possibility of rearming and starting a new war. It is claimed that this program is not contrary to any specific provisions of the Atlantic Charter, but the author insists that if the Germans persist in carrying on the war to the bitter end the Charter statement should be withdrawn and his program should be ruthlessly carried out regardless of the effect upon German living conditions.

The program for Germany's economic disarmament presented here is drastic and widesweeping; only the main points can be noted. First of all, Germany must be deprived of her machine tool industries, for they were the chief economic factor making possible the rapid rearmament after 1933. Her arms industries must be completely dismantled along with all the synthetic raw material and oil refining industries. Her available supplies of oil, metals, rubber, fertilizer, and textiles must be kept down to the current requirements for civilian use. Hitler's New Order for the economic organization of the Continent, which is designed to make Germany the workhouse for the area and the rest of the countries her satellite suppliers of food and raw materials, dependent upon her for manufactures, must be completely reversed. The rest of the Continent should be made economically independent of Germany and Germany's foreign trade should be largely shifted to overseas regions; though it must be recognized that she may have to be allotted markets—but no colonies—sufficient to dispose of enough goods to pay for her imports. Finally, even with military and economic disarmament, "it would not be possible to safeguard peace unless the Reich is dismembered into its constituent elements." This last suggestion, it is candidly admitted, will probably be the most unpopular in the book; it is certainly the one most weakly defended.

As regards reparation payments, it is stated we should avoid such economically impossible claims as were made after the last war, frankly facing the fact that any adequate repayment cannot be obtained; but insist on requiring whatever can be recovered in the form of war materials, machinery, merchant shipping, and property seized in occupied countries.

It cannot be said that the author has clearly established what he set out to prove: that is, that the economic disarmament program advocated could be carried through without any appreciable decrease in the German standard of living. The economic results of any such sweeping program as he proposes involve infinitely more complex calculations than are even suggested in this volume. Also, there is everywhere present a tendency to ignore or to minimize points which do not support the author's thesis. No consideration is given to the time element required for such radical changes and to the effects, economic and political, of the economic disorganization inevitable during this period. Probably nobody could work out all the consequences involved with any pretense to accuracy, but certainly a far more exhaustive analysis of all that this program implies should be attempted before the author's thesis can be given support. Most economists, if called upon to give an off-hand decision, would, I believe, deny the likelihood that the thesis could be justified.



To say this obviously does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that such a program should not be adopted. The economic consequences are not the only, nor even the ultimate, considerations which must govern the final decision. It is clear that the author would ignore economic considerations altogether if necessary to prevent Germany starting another war. The various causes of war, among which the economic cannot be ignored, receive practically no attention. Certainly economic suffering and disorder were factors in the rise of the autarchies which culminated in the present conflict. Certainly—anent the proposal for dismembering the Reich—the splitting up of the Austro-Hungarian empire into a group of little, economically impotent countries providing easy prey for powerful neighbors hastened, even if it did not cause, the outbreak of the present war. The assertion that some of these countries "were highly satisfied with the new arrangement" may be correct, but it certainly does not prove that economic losses for the people were not involved or that they would not be involved in a breakup of Germany.

While it must be noted that the problem discussed in this book constitutes but a very small fraction of the large group of problems that will have to be faced in any program to win the peace, it is one of the issues about which controversy is likely to be very acute. Thus, the sooner its various aspects are explored and placed before the public the better the prospect for a wise decision.

Chester W. Wright is Professor of Political Economy at the University of Chicago, and Associate Editor of Journal of Political Economy.

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Essential Reading on the PEACE

THE PEACE WE FIGHT FOR

by Hiram Motherwell

What will the world picture be on the future Armistice Day? What will be needed immediately in the way of food, money and organization? What about future United Nations relations? These questions are expertly analyzed in a book which the *N. Y. Times* calls "Highly important . . . a brilliant picture." "Worthwhile reading for all citizens who wish to know what they're talking about." —*Chicago News.* $3.00

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The American Communist-Russian Equation

AMERICA, RUSSIA, AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN THE POST-WAR WORLD. A Publication of the Commission on Education and the Post War World. Written by John L. Childs and George S. Counts. New York: John Day Company. 1943. 92 *pp.* $1.25.

THE American Federation of Teachers at its last annual Convention created a Commission on Education, which, in its turn, commissioned Professors Childs and Counts of Teachers College, Columbia, to draw up a report on "America, Russia, and the Communist Party in the Post War World." The two authors, in their ninety-page report, have done a first-class job: competent, objective, thoroughly honest, and fearless. Moreover, certain diplomatic developments resulting from recent ambassadorial indiscretions in Moscow and a much discussed speech by Vice-President Wallace on American-Soviet relations, make the report extremely timely, and relate it to front page news.

Russia's position is perhaps the biggest single note of interrogation in the discussion of the post-war world. What Russia is willing to do may well determine what all the other members of the United Nations are able to do; if this country and the world is to have peace it must find a basis of agreement with Russia. This book indicates what that basis might be, and though brief is not superficial. It includes, for instance, a chapter devoted to "The Philosophy of the Russian Revolution" and in seven short pages makes that philosophy more understandable than some books of many hundreds of pages on the Russian revolution have managed to do.

The authors reject three fairly common views: (a) that Russia is becoming democratized in the Western sense, and turning away from dictatorship leaving few real differences from the Western democracies. (b) that the differences are so deep that they can never be resolved and that Russia must remain the foe of democracy; and (c) the view that the post-war world should be based upon the coöperation of democratic states only, who, if they were really united in some form of federalism could tell Russia (like China) where she gets off. Permanent collaboration cannot be based on any of these assumptions.

The authors admit it will not be easy to find any workable basis, but they do not believe it to be impossible. Among the necessary conditions are that Western nations should recognize their share of past responsibility for Russian suspicions of the West, and must unequivocally repudiate the old anti-Soviet hostilities. Russia, on her side, must repudiate the Communist International and all its works. "So long as this instrumentality is tolerated and employed by the Soviet government, genuine confidence on the part of her collaborators of the United Nations in her good faith will not be possible." The reason for such a statement is illustrated by a brief but extremely pungent survey of the activities of the American Communist Party. It is indeed a black record. The authors make it plain that the interests of both America and Russia will be best served by the complete dissolution of this party.

The authors have not perhaps given sufficient weight to the fact that the motive behind the employment by Russia of the unsavory implement of the comintern was largely defensive. Fearing the West, Russia had recourse to this means of undermining the power of those who she believed might attack her. The dominant purpose of Russia, as of all states, capitalist or socialist, is survival as a nation and a state. On that motive of political survival we must build. It represents the one common interest of all of us, transcending differences of internal economic structure. Make plain to Russia that in any system of common security, of mutual aid in defense against aggression (like that envisaged in the recently signed British-Soviet Treaty of Mutual Assistance) we really are prepared to guarantee Russia's frontiers, defend her (since we want her aid in defending us), and much of the motive which prompts Russia to use the Communist International will disappear. The real offense of the West this last twenty years has not been in active "plots" against Russia, but in failure to fulfill the positive obligation to defend her. That is a sin of omission not confined to the case of Russia.

The worst enemies of coöperation with Russia are those who insist that in order to get it we must become Communist or Russia capitalist. Fortunately for the peace of the world that is not true, as the present fight in common against a common enemy clearly proves.

N. A.

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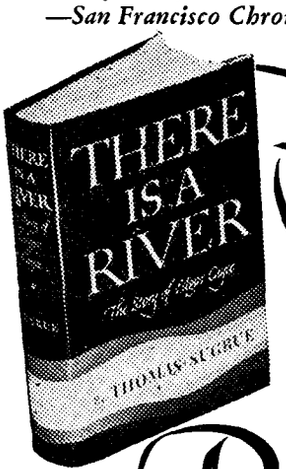

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At the moment of going to press the tragic news of the death of Stephen Vincent Benét comes to this magazine. We shall devote our next number to his memory. American literature could have suffered no greater loss. His death is a war death as truly as if he had died on the battlefield. Deferring the completion of an epic poem which was to be a successor to "John Brown's Body," he threw his energy entirely into the war effort. The strain was too much. But he leaves one of the great literary reputations of the times behind him, and a multitude of friends. He has been a contributor to *The Saturday Review* since its founding in 1924.

OCCUPATIONAL DISEASE

THE other night we attended a university round-table discussion on the problems of the coming peace. Several papers were read, ideas and issues flowed freely, and at the end, as was to be expected, the participants trailed off into the night with as little or less agreement than when they came in. For our part we confess we came away puzzled and disturbed —not only by the enormity of the problem under discussion, but by an atmosphere or state of mind which, in the extreme manifestations, is an occupational disease sometimes referred to as pernicious academia.* Symptoms: an inordinate love of a hypothetical first cause and an equally hypothetical ultimate truth; a complete reticence and awkwardness in the face of human motivations; a positive dread of absolutes and a correspondingly high esteem for relatives; an unrelenting and ruthless passion for the word "perspective." In the last stages, victims have been known to reduce the most tangible and alarmingly concrete questions to remote abstractions without even the respite of a semi-colon.

At the forum in question, for example, it was difficult to find out what war was being discussed. It was not only that the inevitable pursuit of the first cause landed the subject plump in the center of anthropological and philosophical meditations; nor only that all the old stereotypes of peace-planning were trotted out — stereotypes concerning reparations, boundary-fixing, disarmament, etc., which in the way they were brought out could have applied to any age and which gave no hint that this war was unique in important respects, particularly as it concerned the fact that the world today is a geographical unit. The basic difficulty in finding out what war was being discussed stemmed from the apparent reluctance to deal with the *dramatis personae* of this war or the things that are happening in the war for which retribution will be demanded. If anyone had presumed to mention the name of Adolf Hitler, he would doubtless have been glowered upon as an emotional and otherwise superficial individual lacking the equipment to dig deeply into the causes of this war. It was almost as bad as it was after the last war when anyone who mentioned the Kaiser's name in even the least uncomplimentary terms was regarded as a simple fellow indeed.

All of which causes us to wonder whether the deodorizing of the causes of this war and the Nazi crimes has already begun to take place. Perhaps this is one of the clearest indications that we are winning, for it is only when we are on top of the wave and when we have forgotten how close we came to being engulfed that we can afford the luxury of such supposed detachment. We suddenly become very scientific and scholarly, and attempt to divorce ourselves from anything that would seem to suggest passion or even ordinary human impulses.

Thus after the last war we brought debunking to a high art, and constructed in retrospect a picture of a war that suited the mood at the time but which otherwise had little foundation in actuality. Can it be that Hitler, like the Kaiser, will be the benefactor of an illusory era of sweet reason? Are we going to regard the jarring, sickening crimes against human dignity—crimes such as the murder of Lidice, the systematic destruction of the Polish nation, the extermination of the Jewish people—as merely propaganda expedients of the United Nations, something to be identified with war emotions and therefore to be forgotten as quickly as possible? Are we to avoid talking about such crimes out of a misguided notion that to do so is to confess one's lack of basic sophistication or scholarship or both? In short, are we going to develop a guilt complex that will act as a deadly suction upon our ability to keep the war won?

One trouble with the obsession for detachment is that not only do we detach ourselves from emotionalism but frequently from actuality. Of one thing we can be certain: No matter how long we search for the first cause, no matter how heavily we clothe ourselves in the laundered vestments of scholarship, we can never hope to make a lasting peace unless we can become excited, even passionate, about questions involving the rudimentary questions of good *vs.* evil, right *vs.* wrong. "Ah!" but the apostle of detachment may say, "Who is there to say what is good and what is evil?" Well, brother, if you don't know the difference, it's about time you found out. Ten million dead people in this war can't be wrong.

N. C.

*With respects to Dr. D. P. Geddes.

Bataan

By Carlos Bulosan

BATAAN! The world is but an island.
This the brave knew, creeping on the earth of home,
Holding strength with the other brave,
Those who printed kisses in American streets;
Not for the wound that opened and hurt,
Not for the flesh that burned, but for the hate
That blossomed in treetops and doorways:
The hate that crept from hate to tenderness.

They held the guns straight; plunged down the hill.
They did not stop to consider our promises.
They fought and fell, not for our promises,
Not for victory, but for the day
That would give the future, and kill the enemy.
For the indivisible day.
And toward the end: *No Surrender.*

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

"Bushido"

SIR:—I have read your editorial on "Bushido," by Alexandre Pernikoff, in the March 6 issue of *The Saturday Review.*

I regret that you did not get in personal touch with us before you wrote it. We would gladly have given you the necessary information to convince you, as it did us, of the authenticity of the material facts behind the book.

When we first read the manuscript, we saw immediately that, since it was dynamite, we would have to have satisfactory proof of the realities it purported to contain.

We made a thorough investigation of Mr. Pernikoff. He is a substantial businessman with interests in world shipping. He has unqualified letters of recommendation from J. Homer Butler, formerly Assistant United States Treasury Attaché at the American Embassy in Paris, and from E. A. Goldenweiser, Director of Research and Statistics for the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System at Washington. He is also known and respected at the office of the Free French.

He served in the first World War as a volunteer in the Imperial Cavalry Guard of the Russian Army. You will note that his first name is Ossip, which he changed, for the purposes of publishing "Bushido," to Alexandre, a legitimate action. We also examined several hundred photographs from Mr. Pernikoff's scrapbook, showing his association with high ranking officials in the French Army, which you may examine personally if you so wish.

As for the manner in which the original manuscript of "Oleg Volgin" came into his possession, it was substantially as stated in the Foreword.

As for the facts stated in the story, The Annuaire Diplomatique, the official publication of the French Government (before Vichy), for 1932 and 1933 shows Albert Leonard Henri Joseph Chambon, mentioned in "Bushido," to have been appointed "chargé de la chancellière de Kharbine, Nov. 1, 1931," and "chargé des fonctions de consul suppléant a Tien-Tsin, Sept. 29, 1933," which corroborates the statement in "Bushido" that Chambon was recalled from Harbin shortly after his intervention in the Kaspe case. We tried to locate M. Chambon, but were unable to do so. He was attached to l'Administration Centrale, August 1, 1938, but we could find no trace of him since that date. The local French Consul does not know where he is.

As for the Kaspe case, the kidnapping case of which so much is made in "Bushido," while it, apparently, was not of sufficient importance in the United States to have been reported in either *The New York Times* or *The Herald Tribune,* it had sufficient international political significance to have been discussed in Congress. (See the *Congressional Record* for that period.)

The visit of the Lytton Commission of the League of Nations, will of course not be doubted; no more can the details of its reception at Harbin given in "Bushido" be doubted.

The "tea treatment" is, of course, well-known, and its use by the Japanese substantiated by Ambassador Grew, and others, recently returned from Japan.

The specific horrors of the story have not, and cannot, be substantiated in detail, since no eyewitnesses are available. However, the information we have received from many sources upon the *general* conditions existing in territory occupied by the Japanese, in conjunction with the unimpeachable character of Mr. Pernikoff, warrants the acceptance of the details of "Bushido" as substantially accurate. (See "Secret Agent of Japan"; "I Escaped from Hong Kong"; "Report from Tokyo"; "Exchange Ship"; and "Tokyo Record.") Lewis Gannett, in *The New York Herald Tribune* for February 19, says of "Bushido," "Mr. Tolischus's scrupulous reporting [in "Tokyo Record"] prepares one to accept the essential truth of this lurid story."

The Book-of-the-Month Club *News* in reviewing the book says, "If there is any incentive needed to go out and kill a few Japs, this extraordinary document of horrors will do the trick."

That our belief in the credibility of the story was well-founded is vouchsafed by the reviews of "Bushido" in such media as *The Christian Science Monitor,* and the *Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury.*

The Christian Science Monitor, Mar. 2, says: "Whether Volgin even existed or not, under whatever name, there is no question that the incidents of the book are factual and identifiable."

The Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury, February 26, says: "Dope, blackmail, prostitution, murder and torture are all part of the Japanese technique in occupied territories, *the writer says and many of us know.*"

I believe that, from the foregoing, you will admit that we have been conscious of and particularly solicitous of "the size and scope of the publisher's responsibility at a time such as this, especially where it concerns a subject heavily charged with dynamite, where an explosion, if it happens, may reach out far beyond the particular book or books involved."

That we have faithfully and honorably discharged our obligations as publishers is further evidenced by the fact that the United States Navy has just placed an order for 3,400 copies of "Bushido."

In view of the fact that your editorial cast possible aspersions upon our integrity as publishers, we ask that you print this defense in as prominent a space in *The Saturday Review* as was enjoyed by your reflections.

ARTHUR PELL.
Liveright Publishing Corp.
New York, N. Y.

"Retrospect"

SIR:—In your issue of Jan. 30, you print a letter from Joseph B. Rivlin, asking for information regarding Harriet Martineau's books. He speaks of E. E. Calkins's review of her "Retrospect of Western Travel," but calls it a review of her "Society in America." (It really was not a review of anything—just an article on H. M. as a deaf person—but we will let this pass.)

Rivlin's address is not given, but if you will put me in touch with him, I can give him a description of an American edition of the "Retrospect" which I think preceded the Harper edition, recently reproduced in facsimile. My copy (in 2 vols.), which my grandmother purchased in her time, was printed in New York by Charles Lohman in 1838.

MILTON HALSEY THOMAS.
Princeton, N. J.

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War Hatred: Second Phase

Is There A Requisite for Enduring Victory?

JOHN CORBIN

OF the first phase of our war hatred there is little left to say. Keenly though tardily we are aware that never in history has everything free men hold dear been confronted by an enemy at once so depraved and so powerful. There is, however, another hatred which is requisite for any enduring victory.

It is hatred of our own mind and character—the mind and character of which this second Armageddon is largely the result. Self-righteous is the word for us, and to conquer self-righteousness is our second task. This is rendered doubly difficult by the fact that our national mood of thoughtlessness and vainglory is compounded with a true and instinctive righteousness which is no less strong. To dissect one from the other is a feat of psychologic surgery, an art in which we have not been adept. There is, however, a hopeful sign of the times. The need of self-knowledge, and of effective thought based on it, is becoming widely and humbly recognized in books about the war and the subsequent peace. In particular, I am thinking of four books published during 1942. Impressive though these have been as severally issued, they are doubly so when viewed collectively and in perspective.*

Here are the plain facts of our plight, acknowledged by the new prophets. In 1918 the free nations had fought a war the dogged heroism of which has few if any examples in history, and they were rewarded with a victory utter and complete. We owned or controlled half of the world's surface and by far the richer half. Yet steadily through twenty years we let our authority slip through our fingers, until once more we were threatened, as we still are, with engulfment by the powers of darkness. That is a phenomenon likewise unexampled in history. How and why did it come about? The answer is not flattering to our pride. Yet it is not pride but truth that makes men free.

One trait of those two lost decades was a light-hearted, a superior, scorn of "idealism," of all its words and works. It was not only that the oncoming generation saw the failure of the League of Nations, saw and brightly derided it—a failure which we now know to be quite as tragic as it was derisory. In a Falstaffian mood they flouted the word and the deed of honor. With Burke they held patriotism to be the last refuge of a scoundrel. It was in vain that parents who had known the menace of the old war, had felt its terrors and passions, spoke sober side words of the danger that had then threatened the world, of the narrowness of our escape from a fate perhaps worse than slavery. The young idea answered that the war had settled nothing, adding the brilliant generalization that war could settle nothing. Highschools and universities were infested with phosphorescent pedagogues who pictured the old Armageddon as brought upon us by the greed of rival "empires" and the machinations of armament makers and international bankers. The only rational and decent thing, we were lightly told, was to refuse to be swayed by the propaganda of politicians and plutocrats.

France and England also appeared to be dungheaps of phosphorescent decay. An overwhelming majority of the Oxford Union, once forum for the solemnities of fledgling statesmen, declared that they "would *not* die for Country and King." If they held anything sacred it was the ideal of isolation and peace—twins which they held to be firmly Siamesed. No one who knew the nature of an Oxford rag took

**A TIME FOR GREATNESS. By Herbert Agar. Boston: Little, Brown & Company. 1942. 301 pp. $2.50.*

THE GOOD INHERITANCE. By Norman Cousins. New York: Coward-McCann. 1942. 318 pp. $3.

PRELUDE TO VICTORY. By James B. Reston. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1942. 235 pp., and index. $2. New York: Pocket Books, Inc. 221 pp. $2.

THE MAKING OF TOMORROW. By Raoul de Roussy de Sales. New York: Reynal & Hitchcock. 1942. 338 pp. $3.

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that vote too seriously. Like Little Orphan Annie, those young men "mocked 'em and they shocked 'em and they said they didn't care." Yet the fact remains that they voiced the prevailing mood of all three Atlantic democracies, which with one accord were steadfastly opposed to spending money for destroyers, tanks, and airplanes, urging instead the needs of what they called human welfare.

The new vintage of war books says to us in effect, Now look at the damned thing! The mockers and shockers are themselves mocked and shocked by the rubble of blasted cities, by the corpses of women and children and the slaughter of the best and bravest of their menfolk, while the welfare of countless decades to come bids fair or bids foul to be crushed beneath mountainous and still mounting war debts. Whether in England or America, isolation and peace are not Siamese twins. But that is only one side of the shield. The other side shows a picture less horrible but no less tragic—and ironic. We had been taught that the Japanese soldier is a miracle of sacrificial honor and patriotism; yet one of our pilots flew his torpedo forthwith into a Japanese battleship, and at Midway an entire squadron did likewise, to a man, only one of them surviving, thanks to the utter rout of the Japanese navy and his escape by rubber boat from his wrecked plane. Among the young Englishmen who fought off swarming *Herrenvolk* in the Battle of Britain, there were doubtless not a few of those bright young men of the Oxford vote. If Pericles had been with us, could he have bettered the saying that never have so many owed so much to so few? Perhaps we should have taken more seriously that monocled Du Maurier youth in *Punch* who remarked, "Do you know, I am so stwong that I simply don't know my own stwength."

The self-ignorance of that truly lost generation was matched by their ignorance of the world we live in. If they had any thought and hope for the future, it was chiefly in terms of the "normal" past—more and better radios and ice-boxes, more and better cars and country clubs with more money to play about in them. In "A Time for Greatness," a persistent best seller, Herbert Agar writes of this with prophetic insight—and prophetic wrath: "The world is not like that. It is not a gigantic and well-run department store; it is more like a volcano." An old, unhappy, far-off thought!

> The God who made the earthquake
> and the storm
> Perchance made war.

There are, however, differences. The toll of human wealth and human life exacted by earthquake and volcano is a bagatelle compared with that exacted by war. A single day's fighting on the Russian front may be as disastrous as the Lisbon earthquake which so shocked meliorists of the eighteenth century; and such catastrophies now polka-dot the earth's surface. Yet, powerless as we are against volcanoes, it is not beyond human power, as Mr. Agar says, to control "the fiercer tension of human life." That tension "can often be harnessed for the service of man and God —but only if we have sense enough to know that the tension is there"—and to take full account of "what blows the roof off the volcano and what tends to keep the roof in place." No small order!

If the League of Nations had been properly constituted, even if its members had honored their signatures to the thing it was, it would not have thrown Manchuria and China and Ethiopia to the dogs. Nor would the nations of the North and Baltic seas have been beguiled into trusting to their neutrality, and to the blandishments of Adolf Hitler. It takes no historic perspective to see that the whole world of free nations was afflicted with a malady of mind and character, compounded of gullible conceit and lethargy, which narrowly escaped being mortal. Our own failure was perhaps worst of all.

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What else was the old lend-lease program but an effort to buy with our abundant material wealth a base exemption from the heroism of blood and sweat and tears? Are such failures inherent in free institutions? The least we can say is that if we do not wake up and see the world as it is, and steel our minds to greatness, conceit and lethargy will not always give way in time to a sacrificial honor and patriotism.

IN "The Good Inheritance," Norman Cousins draws a startling parallel between our present plight and the ignominious downfall of the Athenian democracy which so swiftly followed its era of supreme beauty and power. Deprived of the leadership of Pericles, the people vacillated between heroic bravery and base intrigues with the enemy, as England and France have done. Until Pearl Harbor, "America oriented much of her thinking on the assumption that the existence of her democracy, like the rising and setting of the sun, was a natural phenomenon beyond the reach of catastrophe. . . . There are times when its [a democracy's] very existence depends on the day-to-day wisdom of the people." Acting together, members of the League might easily have defied the Axis powers. "Why did each of them await its own turn at the chopping block?" In a democracy "the last refuge of man is man himself."

In "Prelude to Victory" Mr. Reston writes out of a first-hand knowledge gathered as correspondent of *The New York Times* in the days of the Battle of Britain and later as member of its Washington staff. It speaks well for the vogue of the new prophecy that his volume is already in the Pocket Book edition. "Millions of people in Europe," he writes, "have somehow got the idea that democracy means freedom without bread, and a great many millions more in Asia have been led to see that democracy for them means neither freedom nor bread." Both Fascism and Nazism arose out of the economic and social failure of democracy, culminating in the great depression. That failure "is identified in both the European and the Asiatic mind, not with Adolf Hitler, who was the result and not the cause of the depression, but with democracy, which was in power when the depression developed. Indeed, Hitler, we must never forget, is identified inside Germany not with the beginning but with the end of the economic depression; he gave Germans their first steady jobs in nearly a generation."

In England and France the lack of bread and butter was matched and overmatched by a lack of guns. At the time of Chamberlain's Munich agreement bringing "peace in our time," the British "did not have a single squadron of Spitfires even at home; they had two or three squadrons of Hurricanes; they did not have any modern heavy tanks at all. . . . When the Battle of Britain started, they had exactly five fighter planes in reserve." Not all the responsibility lay on the shoulders of Chamberlain and Baldwin, "responsible" though Prime Ministers are said to be. A great majority of the British democracy, to which they were responsible in another sense, were isolationist and pacifist—and their supposed leaders knuckled under. "Our teachers, our publicists, our preachers and our legislators have bamboozled us outrageously, perhaps because we wanted to be bamboozled. Let's admit the truth, no matter where it comes from: we have been too slick, selfish and materialistic, and we haven't got away with it."

Though our authors are prophets of wrath, they are not prophets of despair. They admit that the coming shift from world war to world peace will be as much more difficult than of old as the devastation will be more vast and the debts more crushing, but they see clearly a possible compensation. The blunders of the old peace terms are now manifest, as are the blunders of subsequent economies and finance; it should not be impossible to avoid both. Though they are wary of what they call blueprints, they are in notable agreement as to basic essentials. Instead of giving way to self-destructive post-war hatreds, and to recrudescence of the old inter-allied mistrust and squabbling, the free peoples have only to maintain their present mood of mutual devotion and sacrifice, turning it to a solution of the problems of reconstruction. Instead of demobilization there should be a remobilization, both material and moral, to achieve a peace that offers victories no less triumphant than those of war.

In "The Making of Tomorrow" the late M. de Sales sifted these problems with a subtlety and comprehension peculiarly French, together with a sense of the importance of our American part in the world of the future which was based on decades of residence and observation here. In the world of today he saw three dominant forces: nationalism, collectivism, and pacifism. Of these nationalism has been and may still be the strongest. As result of the waning of religious conviction and fervor, it became the chief of all emotional forces, raising the nations to heroic heights. So far so good. But as long as nationalism remains unillumined it is in effect "nihilistic," preventing national progress itself. That is what happened in the inter-war era. Is there any fairer hope for tomorrow?

The force of international collectiv-

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ism is less strong but appears to be gaining. As yet we are barely conscious either of its strength or of the manner in which it sways us. Yet it may prove to be the true "wave of the future." Why did we violate our third-term tradition, held sacred through a century and a half? Both Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Willkie professed themselves apostles of peace, yet both held the international crisis to be paramount. But Roosevelt had the situation in hand and was leading us, as fast as a responsive if not responsible executive could, toward our destined part in the war. A realization of this was certainly a strong factor, perhaps the decisive factor, in shattering a tradition hitherto inviolate and inviolable. What can this mean if not that as a nation we realize, at least subconsciously, that the peoples of today must be not only nationally but internationally minded? Likewise M. de Sales found that the Four Freedoms, which we universally acclaimed and which are embodied in the Atlantic Charter, are essentially collectivist, international. They are to be established "everywhere in the world." Subconsciously if not consciously, two world wars and a depression have convinced us that freedom from want and from fear can be achieved only by international coöperation if not international organization.

THE third factor, possibly the *primum* mobile of the future, is pacifism. Hitherto many or most of us have identified peace with national isolation. The task of tomorrow, and indeed of today, is to realize clearly what, as it seems, we already feel subconsciously—that in the modern world a fruitful peace can only be achieved by remobilizing the international forces, material and moral, which we have developed in war. Only so can the still illimitable resources of the world be made available to all who are willing to work and the progress of civilization be continued without volcanic eruptions. It is also becoming daily clearer that a properly tempered internationalism is essential to the continuance of merely national development.

It is an attractive formula, but it presents a dilemma as yet unresolved. The preservation of peace, we have learned, requires armed control by an international police. Conceivably this may be achieved by a mere continuance of the present wartime regime; but already the harmony of the so-called United Nations shows signs of strain. What assurance is there that, in the course of decades and generations, it will not be disrupted by just such blindly nationalistic cross-purposes, such shameless double-crossings, as paralyzed the League? If an international police is to be properly organized and directed, it requires to be controlled by a single international authority, itself properly constituted. But to achieve this it is needful that the member nations surrender certain attributes of their sovereignties, as our thirteen States did when forming our own "more perfect union." Economic and financial readjustments capable of forestalling depressions present even greater difficulties—stabilization of exchange, tariff adjustments, wage levels, and price levels. Will pressure groups of farm and labor relinquish their present whip-hand over legislation, submitting to a control upon which they have only their due proportion of influence? The failure of the League was mainly caused by the fact that the framers of its Covenant tried to beat this devil of national sovereignty about the bush. Our authors do not even state the problem.

Yet they do lash out at the lack of idealism of which such difficulties are mainly the result. "It is not we but Hitler," says Mr. Agar, "who went to war for an idea." In our present slogan that we are fighting for the future of civilization Mr. Reston finds only the old hypocrisy of making the world safe for democracy: we "render unto God the things that belong to Caesar." For not one of the democracies had vision and courage to fight until its own existence was threatened—a thing any cornered rat will do. M. de Sales says "The Nazis have *found something* that we, the champions of civilization, have not. . . . If only we could find a new source of inspiration, a new dynamism as powerful as Hitlerism!" That *something* is the profound realization that a world subject to swiftly recurrent wars and depressions simply has to be "rebuilt"—thoroughly rebuilt, he means, though refraining from specifications.

Such thoughts are not so new, nor so paradoxical, as they may seem. In flouting the idea of virtue the past two decades have, consciously or unconsciously, flouted the idea of sin. But, as others than those Oxford voters have found, sin too is a reality, and its wages are still what they have been. We are told that seven of the sins are deadly. Two of them, by no means the least to be feared, infest our democracies, pride and sloth—the pride of self-righteous pacifism that gave too little, and the sloth of purblind nationalism that gave too late. It may still be true that the wave of the future is the collectivism of military dictatorship. Only if we dissect our vices from our virtues can we make sure of achieving the collectivism of peace and freedom. Few of us can doubt any longer that there is such a thing as the Scourge of God. Though we survive once more, there will still be the question whether our democracies are capable of kissing the rod.

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If you take the world strictly in terms of what your five senses tell you, if a pleasant flight of the imagination provokes such devastating criticism as "But it couldn't really happen," if your literary taste runs more to soap opera and well-frosted romance at the rental library, you have our permission to stop reading this advertisement right here.

On the other hand, if you can enjoy a divine spark of originality, coupled with a fine style and obvious enjoyment on the author's part, if you are willing to take the word of as well-known and successful a writer as James Hilton*, if you yourself would even consider for a moment changing places with your guardian angel (if you ever did meet him), there is a chance that you will get your full share of pleasure from a book published last week, a most unusual new novel by the author of *Miss Hargreaves*. Its title is *Sweet Chariot*, and it is the work of Frank Baker, one of the most talented young English writers to appear in years.

Sweet Chariot concerns the adventures of a shy schoolmaster who changes places with his guardian angel, a rather earthy and wildly uninhibited young heavenly being named Melchior. It is an eminently logical fantasy with overtones of satire. It is packed with suspense, and we advise you to ask your bookseller for it.

Sweet Chariot

By FRANK BAKER

*James Hilton writes: "Frank Baker is the most interesting new writer England has offered us since the war began. He is a born story teller if ever there was one."

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TRADE Winds

AT THE AGE OF EIGHTY, Arthur Machen, celebrated English author of such masterpieces as "The Great God Pan" and "The Hills of Dreams," is in such straitened circumstances that a committee, which includes Bernard Shaw, Max Beerbohm, and T. S. Eliot, has been formed to seek help for him. Alfred Knopf, at 501 Madison Avenue, New York, will accept contributions for the Machen fund in America.

I remember my meeting with Arthur Machen in London in 1928. Like other American publishers who were bloated for the moment with Wall Street paper profits (destined to disappear shortly), I decided that only a suite at Claridge's would befit my lofty station. Mr. Machen came to lunch with me. A nine-volume set of his writings had become a collector's item in America, and was selling in college shops like the Brick Row for seventy-five dollars and up, but little or none of this plunder had made its way to Machen's personal exchequer. He looked like Mr. Pickwick when he strode into Claridge's—plump, red-cheeked, with silver white hair reaching down almost to his shoulders. He wore a threadbare suit and a black cloak that might have been pinched from Dracula's dressing room. His appearance and his booming voice created something of a sensation in that exclusive and painfully correct hostel—especially after he had downed a whole decanter of wine, and polished off his literary contemporaries one by one, in increasingly loud tones.

I told him that Donald Klopfer and I had decided to add Smollett's "Humphry Clinker" to the Modern Library, and offered him a hundred dollars to write an introduction to the volume. "I don't know whether I'll have time for it, my boy," he grumbled. "I have many commitments on hand. However, I promise to consider the proposition." The next morning, at nine o'clock, he announced himself in the lobby, with a sixteen-page introduction, neatly penned in watery ink, in his hands.

I was checking out to catch the train for Southampton. Machen went with me while I paid my bill, and all but fainted when he saw what it came to. So, as a matter of fact, did I. A cadaverous, frock-coated maître d'hôtel mournfully asked me whether I had enjoyed my stay at Claridge's. The King and Queen of Spain had moved into the suite directly beneath mine the evening before, and by way of a pleasantry, I essayed "everything was great until that darn Queen woke me up at four this morning playing her castanets." Mr. Striped Pants shook his head sadly. "I'm very sorry, sir," he said. The hell with it, I thought.

Machen rode with me to the station. Just before I left him, he put his hand on my arm. "Tell me, my boy," he asked, "you were having him on with that story about the Queen and her castanets, weren't you?" . . . .

ELLIOT PAUL, most unpredictable of authors, is sometimes very fussy about the place where he writes his books; at other times he has been known to dash off a chapter on the backs of envelopes aboard the Danbury local. Elliot once wrote an entire novel in the two by four restaurant on the second landing stage of the Eiffel Tower in Paris. "You certainly must love that Tower," suggested an admirer. "Love it!" cried Paul, "I stay here because it's the only place in Paris I can't see the damn thing!" On another occasion in New York, Elliot decided that he needed a private office in which to do his writing. He rented space in a mid-town building, paid three months' rent on the spot, hired a stenographer, paid her two weeks' salary in advance, and arranged to begin work promptly at nine the following Monday morning. Unfortunately, at the appointed time, Elliott couldn't remember where his new office was located. He hasn't found it to this day, as a matter of fact. . . .

I HAVE JUST GOTTEN round to reading Vivian Connell's novel, "The Chinese Room," published by the Dial Press. What intrigued me, frankly, was the rumor that the publisher had allowed the book to go out of print, after a first edition had been exhausted in short order, because some long quiescent vice hounds were beginning to snoop about the premises. The book is a most curious melange of sophomoric sex mumbo-jumbo and psychological didoes, with a grade B mystery thrown in for good measure, but I couldn't put it down until I had finished it for all that. The first hundred pages read like a Wolcott Gibbs parody of D. H. Lawrence. One sentence on page 25 must be quoted: "He twisted his kiss on her mouth as if he were twisting a cork into a bottle." Mr. Connell looks and writes like a Liam O'Flaherty who has not yet learned all the ropes. . . .

BEFORE CLARE LUCE began slicing globaloney in Congress, she wrote a picture script for Twentieth Century-Fox. It's about China, and one of the characters is so obviously based on Lin Yutang that the studio is trying to persuade "Y. T." to play himself. His children are more intrigued with the offer than he is. Meanwhile Lin and Irwin Edman are exchanging a series of letters which will one day be published as a comparative study of Eastern and Western philosophy. . . . It seems only yesterday that the late Scott Fitzgerald and his wife Zelda were the most glamorous and exciting young couple in the literary world, and his book describing their courtship, "The Beautiful and Damned," was required reading for those in the know. Now their lovely daughter Frances ("Scottie") is a bride, married to Ensign Samuel Jackson Lanahan, U. S. N. While her husband is on active duty, Scotty will continue to make her home with the Harold Obers. . . . "Arsenic and Old Lace" has just been produced in London, where it is being greeted with the same roars of delight that it evoked in America. One of the biggest laughs in the play is the final curtain call, when thirteen victims, supposedly interred in the cellar by the homicidal Brewster gals, filter onstage through a trap door, and take a solemn bow. On the opening night in London, this bit of business caused quite a commotion, because from the cellar filed thirteen of England's best-known actors, including such personages as Leslie Howard and Robert Morley. . . .

WARRANT OFFICER E. J. KAHN, JR., author of "The Army Life," is back from the wars in Australia and New Guinea, and Simon and Schuster gave him a party in their offices in Radio City, most beautiful in America, and almost as magnificent as Victor Gollancz's in London. Flanked by Shirley Cunningham, of the S. & S. manufacturing department, and Ruth Ruland, the phone operator, I was enveloped

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in such a happy daze that I almost missed the guest of honor, and never did get over to ask Isabel Paterson the latest low-down on Russia. Ruth Ruland is going to be Miss Subways next month, whatever that may be; she seemed uncertain of the duties it would entail. In just a few weeks, thousands of tulips will poke their little heads through the soil so carefully cultivated outside the Inner Sanctum bailiwick. Dick Simon told me that last spring, Mr. Rockefeller himself was up on the roof one morning examining his tulips. He leaned over as if to pluck one, when his eye caught Jerome Weidman, watching him intently from within. Weidman pursed his lips, and shook an admonishing finger. Mr. Rockefeller blushed violently, and slunk abjectly away. . . .

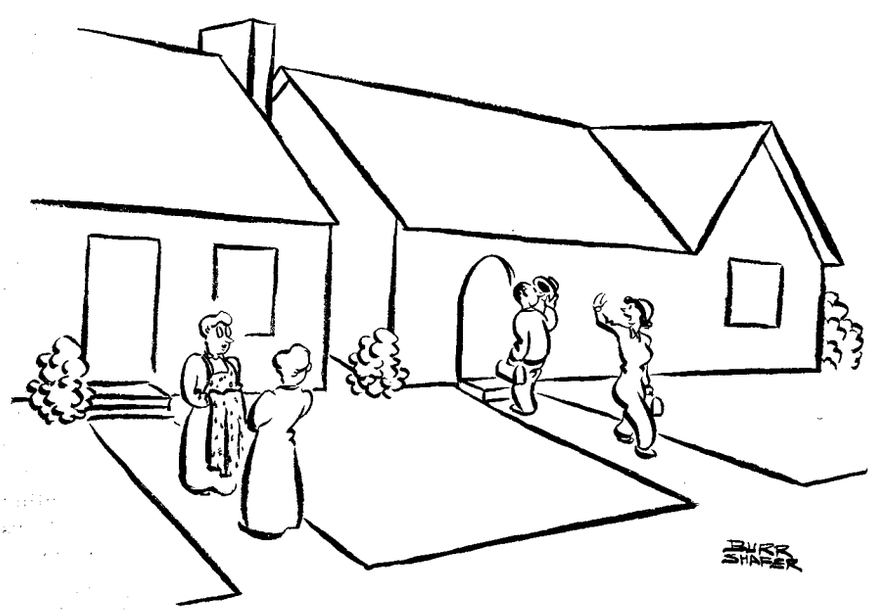
BOB LINSCOTT saw a copy of the letter of resignation submitted to the British Broadcasting Corporation by one of the heads of its European propaganda division last Fall. "Doing foreign propaganda for the B.B.C.," it averred, "is like making love to a female elephant. There's no pleasure in it, you run the risk of being crushed to death, and it's years before you see any results!" . . . . My cheeks are red over the story I fell for recently about the gypsy who predicted the end of the war. Judging by irate correspondence, this tale has a long gray beard, and was even branded an inspiration of the Nazis by a New England "rumor clinic" last year. . . . As *Joe Laurie* says on his radio program, however, any story that you yourself haven't heard before is a NEW one. . . . I am blushing, too, over the profile Donald Geddes etched in these columns a fortnight ago. He writes well for a flute player! . . . .

HERBERT MAYES, editor of *Good Housekeeping Magazine,* thinks that he heard this story from André Maurois, but isn't sure. I hope it doesn't turn out to be as widely known as the gypsy prophecy!

A young lady dreamed one night that she was walking along a strange country lane. It led her up a wooded hill whose summit was crowned with the loveliest little white frame house and garden she ever had seen. Unable to conceal her delight, she knocked loudly on the door of the house, and finally it was opened by an old, old man with a long white beard. Just as she started to talk to him, she woke up. Every detail of this dream was so vivid in her memory that she carried it about in her head for days. Then, on three successive nights, she had precisely the same dream again. Always she awakened at the point where her conversation with the old man was about to begin.

A few weeks later, the young lady was motoring to Litchfield for a weekend party when she suddenly tugged at the driver's sleeve, and begged him to stop. There, at the right of the concrete highway, was the country lane of her dreams! "Wait for me a few moments," she pleaded, and, her heart beating wildly, set out on the lane. She was no longer surprised when it wound to the top of the wooded hill and the house whose every feature was now so familiar to her. The old man responded to her impatient summons. "Tell me," she began, "is this little house for sale?" "That it is," said the man, "but I would scarcely advise you to buy it. You see, young lady, this house is haunted!" "Haunted," echoed the girl. "For heaven's sake, by whom?" "By you," said the old man, and softly closed the door. . . .

BENNETT CERF.



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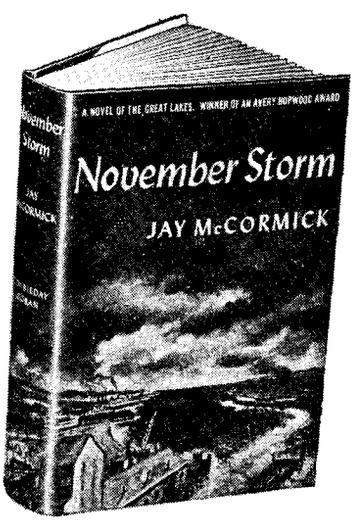

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The Continuing Struggle for Power

THE POLITICS OF THIS WAR. By Ray F. Harvey and 11 others. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1943. 328 *pp.* $2.50.

Reviewed by FRANK KINGDON

THE fourteen chapters of this book supply a valuable antidote to many of the too facile discussions of our war activity to which we have been subjected. The premise of these authors is that politics, like the poor, we always have with us, that politics is inevitable in public action, and that any realistic appraisal of how we are going to win the war and make the peace depends upon political factors. This is a healthy approach. It gives the book toughness of a kind we miss in discussions based upon rigid philosophical or hortatory absolutes.

These authors write of a world of men. They are aware that it is not as good a world as it may be. They believe that the only way it can be improved is by human action. They recognize that men act from mixed motives driven by diverse interests. They do not expect them to act like anything superior to human beings. They, therefore, assess the possibilities of the future as men are likely to mould it. The articulation of social conflicts and the compromise necessary to their adjustment are the elements of the politics they discuss. The end they anticipate is an improved world, not a perfect one.

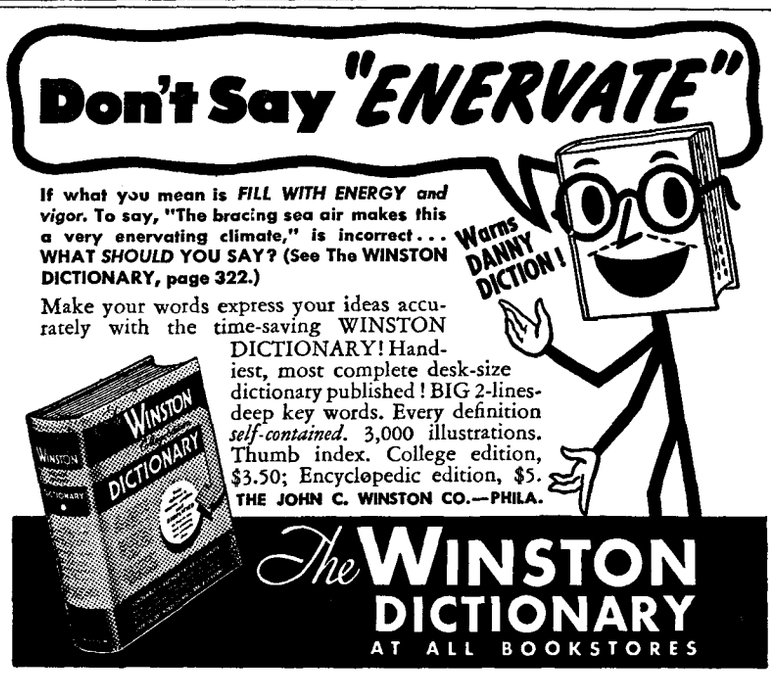
They find that the politics of a given country is a manifestation of its interests and aims as these are conditioned by its economics, geography, and position in world strategy. The leaders thrown up within a nation are social products, men in whom particular desires or policies find explicit declaration. Yet even an acknowledged national leader may find himself ahead of the people whom he is leading. His problem then becomes one of not getting so far ahead as to get out of touch with them yet staying far enough ahead to accelerate the speed of their progress in the right direction. In this sense, President Roosevelt has been a master politician. He foresaw the war before the country was ready to do much about preparing for it, and at every stage he moderated his demands upon the people so as to get all the cooperation he could up to any given time. The result was that while we were not prepared as well as he would have liked when war came, we were better prepared than we would have been had he either alienated his following by being too aggressive or lost his leadership by not exercising it. In a sense, the art of leadership is the art of successful compromise.

When war comes it demonstrates the real characteristics of the changes at work in civilization, because it precipitates all the underlying tendencies, and speeds up their action. Thus a war forecasts the shape of the world that is to follow it. This war clearly foreshadows a civilization more highly technological than we have yet visualized. This will necessitate a more closely integrated government within each country and more closely knit inter-relations among countries. The machinery of these anticipated governments, national and international, is not going to spring full-formed from the head of Mars. It will take shape through painful processes of rivalry, debate, and social struggle.

The stake and contribution of various sections of society in this whole process of political development are set forth in chapters on the politics of profits, big business, small business, farmers, labor, price fixing, the armed services, and peace. A particularly seminal chapter is the one on Lend-Lease as a possible forerunner of world economic coöperation. Each chapter invites comment and exploration. The book could easily supply suggestions for a series of volumes.

A new society is taking shape under our hands. Some among us refuse to see it. The clearest visioned see it but dimly. The only ones who will really have a hand in shaping it are those who get into the struggle for power being waged so passionately within and among nations. This book portrays decisive features of that struggle.

Frank Kingdon was formerly President of the University of Newark.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Minutes of the English Language

HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING PEOPLES. By R. B. Mowat and Preston Slosson. New York: Oxford University Press. 1943. 577 *pp.* $4.

Reviewed by CHRISTOPHER MORLEY

IT was a "merrythought"—what we in the States call a wishbone—to put in one excellently clear and lively story the stock-company minutes of the English language. "From Hengist and Horsa to Churchill and Roosevelt" is the publisher's ingenious label. All history books are misleading because print is so neat and concise, and human beings are always happy in explanations. History in progress is so untidy, uncertain, impromptu, and painful. Mowat and Slosson have done as good a job as any pedestrians could do with such disorderly and romantic matter. They were well equipped for the job: an Englishman who had taught in America and an American who has taught in Britain. Mr. Mowat, of Oxford and Bristol, was tragically killed in an airplane smash some months ago. Mr. Slosson, of Michigan, had to put the final touches; one assumes that the frequent exclamation marks are his, for the Oxford school of historians has less taste for what they call "marks of admiration." Yet somehow I almost like them; they seem symbolic of an amazing story.

By "effluxion of time" (a British economist's phrase I first noticed in Mowat's "History of Great Britain," 1922) a group of less than a million tribesmen who spoke the English dialect at the Norman invasion has now grown to more than two hundred million who talk it as their native tongue—and with what delicious variations. Their strange eventful history, always marked by reluctant thought and impulsive action, a perfect sequence of non sequiturs, is traced in hopeful mood by these collaborators. The long struggle in Britain for representative government is swiftly summarized, and then—what makes this book unusual—it is followed through the birth pains of the United States and through all the British dominions and crown colonies. It is full of the stimulating paradox that enlivens any kind of contact with the English. Drake the seaman was pretty much of a pirate, but when he had a mutiny aboard the *Golden Hind* he executed his mutineer by jury trial. The Puritans emigrated to Massachusetts Bay supposedly for freedom to worship God, but when told so too often by Cotton Mather they retorted that their real aim was to catch fish. The motives and manners of the English races are as hard to decipher as the mysterious word *Croatan* left carved on a tree by the Lost Colonists of Pamlico Sound. They have juggled motes and beams to and fro with delightful agility. The Americans who now bewail British "imperialism" (which has been dead these many years) would be disastrously shocked if anyone said that the war on Mexico one hundred years ago was as imperial-

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istic as anything that ever happened in India. And at least, let us remember, Clive was frank enough to commit suicide, which no Yankee imperialist has ever done. For my own part, I always forgave the East India Company a great deal remembering that Charles Lamb wrote some of his most delightful letters at their desk and on their time. There's no use ever studying history unless you have the gift of forgiveness. Democracies make appalling errors, but obtain at any rate partial absolution on the scriptural doctrine that often they know not what they do. It is hard to forgive the fascists their sins since they know only too well exactly what they are doing, and why.

Our Anglo-Saxon errors are admitted frankly enough by Mowat and Slosson. They wisely insist that the study of the present Anglo-American rapprochement is in no sense "Anglomania." They emphasize many times that the people of the United States "are not even predominantly of British ancestry, and the large minority who are of British origin are only a little more inclined to favor British interests as such than those whose ancestors came from Holland, Germany, Sweden, Italy, and Poland." Even less sometimes, is my observation. "The real bond of union," they conclude, "is similarity of institutions and ideals." Their book is not confined to Britain and the United States but has wise and helpful chapters on Canada, India, Australia, South Africa, and all the other stations of the clock. I rather wish they had quoted Walter Page, ambassador in Britain during hard days, who wrote almost from his deathbed (in 1918) "to bring the two great English-speaking worlds as close together as possible, so that each shall thoroughly understand the courage and sacrifice and ideals of the other." This is the greatest political task of the future.

How dangerous it is for historians ever to generalize. The authors put in a footnote on the relative scarcity of petticoat influence in American politics—and then comes Mrs. Luce! Here, even the reviewer can end on a mark of exclamation.

Trade Book Clinic Selections

The Trade Book Clinic of the American Institute of Graphic Arts has named as its March selections the following books: "Brazil Builds," by Philip L. Goodwin (Museum of Modern Art); "Conrad and His Contemporaries," by J. H. Retinger (Roy Publishers); "Here Come the Penguins," by Sara Maynard (St. Anthony Guild Press); "Jake Home," by Ruth McKenny (Harcourt, Brace); and "Twenty Modern Americans," by Alice Cecilia Cooper (Harcourt, Brace).

Your Literary I. Q.

By Howard Collins

DOCTORS IN LITERATURE

The medical profession, like the clergy and the military, is exceedingly well represented in the world of literature. Briefly described here are ten of its outstanding members. How many do you recognize? Allowing 5 points if you can name the doctor, and another 5 if you recall the author who created him, a score of 60 is par, 70 is good, 80 or better is excellent. Answers are on page 38.

1. With a box of jewels and the able assistance of Mephistopheles, this Renaissance scholar won the affections of a pure and simple young girl.

2. For every ailment this Spanish physician prescribed plenty of warm water and bleeding.

3. As ship's surgeon aboard the *Antelope,* the *Adventure,* and the *Hopewell,* he travelled to some very unusual countries.

4. A medical student at the University of Ingolstadt, he constructed a man out of some odds and ends of cadavers and endowed it with life by using a spark of lightning.

5. Eighteen years in the Bastile with nothing but cobbling to do to pass the time had considerably damaged this doctor's mind.

6. Amid the pleasant surroundings of the Cheerful Tortoise tavern, this elderly retired naval surgeon spun preposterous yarns explaining, in various ways, how he had lost his leg.

7. Fond of experiments, this elderly doctor persuaded four of his contemporaries to drink some water from the Fountain of Youth.

8. Swallowing a compound of his own prescription transformed this eminently respectable physician into a deformed and evil fiend.

9. Wounded in the shoulder (or was it in the leg?) during the battle of Maiwand, he was invalided home to London, where he took lodgings in Baker Street.

10. Discoverer of an organism that preys on bacteria, he had an opportunity to test it when the plague broke out in a West Indies Island.

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Call the New World

LOOK FORWARD, WARRIOR. By Ruth Bryan Owen. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company. 1942. 97 *pp.* $1.50.

Reviewed by LILIAN T. MOWRER

THIS very short volume is packed with more constructive suggestion than most blue-prints of the post-war world. Such a world, the author contends, is the concern of every single American. We are all warriors in today's war, and each must accept responsibility for the future. A lot of hard thinking will be demanded of us; but though the constructive details for this new world may be complicated, its underlying principles are very simple. It is these principles that we must never lose from sight. Having won our second chance we must not throw it away again; we must neither lag too far behind our prophets when they call for action, nor depend too blindly on political leaders whose partisan decisions always prove so disastrous on international issues. This time we must be ready to build some world-wide framework to prevent future wars.

Ruth Bryan Owen draws upon her long experience as Congresswoman, as Member of the Foreign Relations Committee, as diplomat abroad to show how we can avoid the follies of the twenties, and lay the sure foundations for a system of collective security.

Just as American colonists, tired of chaos and disorder, issued a century-and-a-half ago a Declaration of Independence, so the peoples of today, insists the author, might do well to issue a Declaration of Interdependence stating "that these Nations are joined in a Union for mutual security."

Such a declaration could be implemented through a Constitution of the Union of Nations, drafted along the familiar lines of our domestic institution, providing a World Congress, a World Court, and an International Police Force. Of these three institutions, legislative, executive, and judicial in character, two—the League of Nations and the Permanent Court of International Justice—have already been functioning for twenty years. Ruth Bryan Owen's chief contribution would be the much-needed armed power to enforce Court decisions, and a series of checks and counter-checks between the various branches to prevent any one nation from trying to predominate.

The Constitution would begin with a Bill of Rights, guaranteeing to each nation a maximum of liberty and a minimum of encroachment in its domestic affairs; the Legislature would consist of an Upper House (two Senators to every Nation), and a House of Representatives (one member to every twenty-five million inhabitants); the executive power would be vested in a President to be elected every four years (for one term only and never twice consecutively from the same country), and the World Court would have appellate jurisdiction.

Most important, the International Police Force (each country providing a quota) would be based at various strategic points throughout the world ready to proceed against transgressor nations. Composed of efficient professionals (not reluctant amateurs), these soldiers would work impersonally and no defeated country could feel a sense of inferiority at their routine inspection and control of armaments.

Ruth Bryan Owen meets all objections to such a world set-up in a simple forthright manner, based on a burning conviction that human beings must break out of the maze of muddled thinking leading inevitably to war, and begin to act intelligently. Isolation is an illusion; permanent big armies an intolerable burden as well as a tacit confession that we are unable to make a better world. Die-hard objectors to "foreign entanglements" must finally admit that the only way to prevent entanglements is to provide some orderly way in which disputes can be settled.

Such arguments are hard to refute. The author admits that economic adjustments and reconstruction must follow the war but she is far-sighted enough to know that these measures are palliative and do not touch the core of the problem.

Perhaps Ruth Owen tends to overlook what other members of the United Nations could contribute to this international framework. The British, for instance, might want parliamentary system of world government, so that, in case of a deadlock, the President could dissolve Congress and call for new elections with the penalty, however, of immediately resigning himself should the new Congress take the same line as the old. Russia and China too would probably wish to abolish all cartels with their sinister stranglehelds, and buttress the international police force with a licensing system for essential war materials.

But these are details. As it stands "Look Forward, Warrior" is a valuable contribution to the idea of world peace, written in a style to be understood by everyone.

Lilian T. Mowrer, foreign correspondent and wife of Edgar Ansel Mowrer, is the author of "Rip Tide of Aggression."

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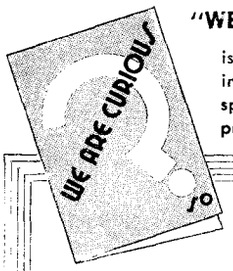

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The American Economic Potential

THE ECONOMICS OF AMERICA AT WAR. By Seymour E. Harris. New York: W. W. Norton & Co. 1943. 408 *pp. and index.* $3.75.

Reviewed by C. NORMAN STABLER

THE economic thinking of this country has received a shattering impact in the war. All the old conceptions seem meaningless applied to such incredible sums, such wholesale destruction of wealth, such tremendous production, and such limitless debts as those with which our comparatively minute minds must now struggle. Hence it is with real gratitude that we find a man of Mr. Seymour Harris's calibre helping us assess the American war program in his new book "The Economics of America at War."

As associate professor of economics at Harvard and an official of the O.P.A., the author is peculiarly fitted to answer our many questions, or at any rate to give us his own clear suggestions as to how we have erred and where become confused, as well as the times when we have hit on the right—or expedient—methods of meeting the complex problems we face together.

A simple, workable framework of analysis of our varied economic tasks, in particular that of transferring our resources from peace to war purposes, is the effort of this book, and in the course of it Mr. Harris makes glaringly obvious the lack, in the past few years, of a "clear over-all interrelated view of our various tasks."

The President, in his message to Congress of April 27, 1942, proposed a well integrated program — heavy taxes and war loans to drain off excess purchasing power, stabilization of wages at current levels, limitation of farm prices at the parity level: a general price freeze, and rationing of scarce commodities. Mr. Harris warns us that we must not be smug as to our attainment of these objectives—and indeed, having read his book showing so clearly how necessary they are to prevent inflation and confusion, it is more distressing than ever to realize just how far from courageously they have been handled so far. Mr. Harris puts the problem succinctly—

> The whole problem can be put in terms of supply and demand. Production levels have attained unexpected heights. Despite the failure to make full use of existing capacity, despite the time lost in wrangling over financial details, despite the failure to accumulate adequate stock piles, despite the delay in diverting production from non-essential to essential industries—and particularly from non-essential investment—national income promises to exceed the pre-defense level by approximately seventy per cent.
>
> What of demand? Supplies of civilian goods will continue to dwindle. The crucial attacks must come through (1) direct assaults on earnings, (2) higher taxes and larger savings siphoned off by the Treasury, and (3) direct control of prices to distribution. The controllers of our economy must take responsibility for the equitable distribution of goods and the removal of excess dollars from commodity markets. They will accomplish these objectives by fixing prices and then gradually reducing the area where dollars may be used freely.

The directors of our economy have done so well at reducing the area where anything may move freely, it occurs to the reader that this should be child's play for them. Yet the fact remains that only parts of it have been tackled, and it must be an overall program to work at all.

Americans know it is true that the attack on Pearl Harbor meant a necessary and immediate expansion of debt expenditures, for the military program of the United States. Financing this expansion, price control, controls of consumption, investment, and international trade have all undergone significant and tremendous changes. Mr. Harris takes up these changes based on the American economy of which he wrote in a previous book called "The Economics of American Defense" and shows how the war has intensified and multiplied the economic problems of 1933 to 1940.

The chapters dealing with our "Industrial Potential for War" are thrilling ones showing as they do the incredible scope of our almost limitless production possibilities, always providing we can learn to coördinate our plant capacity, manpower, and resources. He suggests that the first step is to "use more intensively plants now in operation, second to put back into use unutilized capacity, third to transfer output from non-essential to essential uses, and last to provide new plants."

As to our labor potential, the author points out that the net contribution of manpower will depend upon (1) the numbers of unemployed who can be absorbed in essential industries, (2) the increase of numbers available on the labor market, (3) the rise of hours per employed laborer, and (4) the net change in output per worker." We know better from McNutt's recent radio talk how important this problem of manpower has turned out to be. With 12,000 men per day going into the service, we are going to learn and soon, just how necessary it is to utilize every bit of it we have, and to get

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more in hours of work and output out of our labor resources. "A survey of important war industries, undertaken early in 1942, reveals that none have approached capacity." Surely this must be changed before the year is over if the men in arms are to be supplied.

The discussion of what resources are to be released for war purposes from our gross capital formation is answered by the suggestion that these resources will be freed for war either by cutting down on consumption of the finished product or by restricting the flow of the raw materials, labor, and capital goods that are necessary for the manufacture of the product.

Civilians accept the fact that a strenuous war will involve a reduced level of consumption. By consumption most people mean the using up of goods by final users. Mr. Harris answers the arguments of those who claim that a reduction in consumption is not necessary by pointing out that in an all-out war it becomes necessary to apply all resources, human and material, to war uses—except for the minimum output of indispensable consumption goods.

There are five alternative devices for limiting it, (1) Taxation and voluntary savings, (2) the Keynes plan of compulsory savings, (3) the Kalecki plan of a general rationing scheme limiting total expenditures to a certain amount each week for adults and another for children (imagine this in America!), (4) a rationing of specific commodities —and finally through the direct control of incomes.

Some one, or several, of these methods must be used since the so called "inflationary gap" between the increase in income of the public and the amount of goods available must be closed to prevent inflation. Inflation is not determined merely by the size of the government deficit—total demand and supply have to be studied. Mr. Harris points out some merits in a controlled (?) inflation, and advises that too much importance can be attached to estimates of the magnitude of the inflationary gap. Large wars have never been financed without at least a measure of inflation.

However, as the author points out, Mr. Keynes has presented a strong case against inflation, wishing to spare the country the effects on income distribution that a substantial amount of inflation involves. He recommends a deferred payment scheme as the proper alternative.

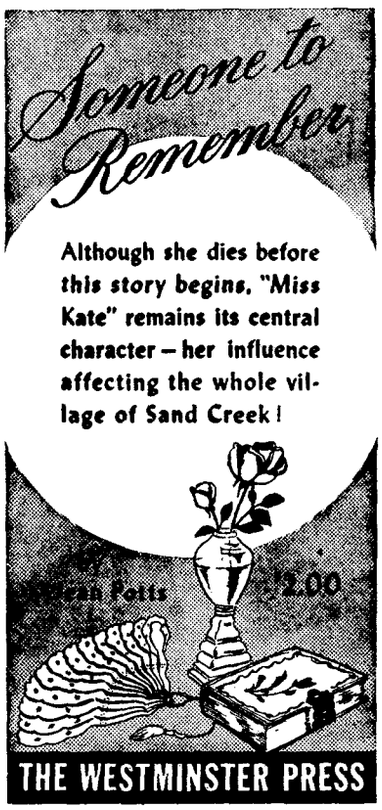
Mr. Harris says that on "essentially ethical grounds payroll taxes, sales taxes, and even this Keynes plan for deferred consumption should be used only when mass sacrifices of consumption are required."

By now, however, increased taxes on consumption are clearly necessary. He says, however, that a sales tax should not be invoked unless there is a higher income tax. "Income taxes call for sacrifices where they can be made most easily." It seems to some readers that since so much of our new income increase is in the labor brackets a sales tax would "mop up" (delightful phrase used by the Treasury) the added wealth where it is, rather than to cut the fixed income white collar class who have no increase from which to contribute. Probably both will be done to the fullest extent the traffic will bear.

The fourth part of Mr. Harris's book has to do with a brilliant analysis of the international aspects of war economics, discussing exchange policies, aid to the United Nations, devoting considerable space to the British setup, since our own is also a democratic economy, and our policies are closely tied in with those of the British. In the early days of the war, the British made ineffective use of the technique of exchange control, but they have since improved,—however Mr. Harris in discussing American international economic relations in war proves conclusively that neither control nor depreciation are appropriate policies for the United States.

In its entirety, this new book does a masterly job of proving how interrelated are taxation and borrowing, fiscal policies and control. Clearly the author shows how interwoven are our problems, the availability of men, materials, and capital for the war program with our capacity for production, and the extent to which we can pay for the war out of capital at the expense of civilian consumption. He gives us also a picture of our probable postwar world problems and many fine suggestions for integrating and making more effective our whole economic effort to win through to that future.

C. Norman Stabler is the Financial Editor of The New York Herald Tribune.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FREEDOM FORGOTTEN AND REMEMBERED

By Helmut Kuhn

CONCENTRATION camp and Gestapo—Race hatred and mass extermination—Global wars for world conquest. These are only the outward symptoms of a malady that has devastated Europe, that seriously infects the United States, that threatens the freedom of the world.

What is this malady? What are its causes and cures? Have the "best minds" led the modern mind into false prejudgments as blinding and destructive as the superstitions of earlier times? What is the common denominator of the decisions and actions which have led the world to its present plight?

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Will Cuppy says

"Death IN THE Doll's House

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is a highly readable tale . . . this unusual offering comes with a medical and psychological atmosphere guaranteed to be the McCoy in every manner, shape, form and detail. Besides, it packs a puzzle that should interest brows of various levels, not just sticklers for authenticity."

—*N. Y. HERALD TRIBUNE BOOK REVIEW*

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Womb for War

IN PEACE JAPAN BREEDS WAR. By Gustav Eckstein. New York: Harper & Bros. 1943. 326 pp. $2.50.

Reviewed by HUGH BYAS

DR. ECKSTEIN visited Japan twice when engaged on a brotherly task, his biography of Noguchi, the bacteriologist. This book is a reconsideration of the Japanese character, done since Pearl Harbor. The method he adopts to give readers his second thoughts is a series of first-hand sketches of his observations while living with Japanese families, interspersed with a larger number of sketches of some Japanese personages.

The personal observations reveal a keen eye for psychological details, no small literary skill, and integrity in statement. The author realizes that it is the Japanese mind and character that we need to know. His opportunities were strategical though limited. There are real Japanese in a real setting. Your reviewer could have done with more of them.

His purpose is to show us how different the Japanese are from ourselves. He presents what might be called the reverse of the Lafcadio Hearn medal. He describes them as a strange, unknown people. His figures waver across the screen like shadows on paper windows; we see the movements and we feel a sense of sinister strangeness, of mystery, and that is all.

This first-hand part of the book is too small and slight to carry the author's message, and it is a pity that what would have made an excellent small book, or longish magazine article, has been expanded to 326 pages. Three-fourths of it consists of sketches of the "Great" Saigo, of Prince Ito, unconvincingly labeled "democrat" and oddly called "Marquis" throughout, of Prince Yamagata, labeled "soldier," and others. Best of these is the picture of Hajime Hoshi, a loud, unimportant drugstore supplier and manufacturer of narcotics, who was cutting a swathe in Tokyo at the time.

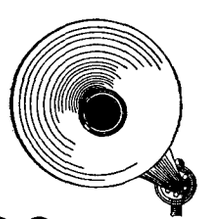
Dr. Eckstein, with admirable humanity, pleads that we should not bomb the Japanese shack cities. Such methods would, he thinks, leave results as bad as those which remained in the South from Sherman's march to the sea. The reviewer agrees that merely punitive bombing of civilian areas would leave an aftertaste of sadism which in no long time would defeat the purpose of the action. But nearly every Japanese city is now an arsenal and bombing is an act of war. The Japanese will not expect to have their cities spared, they have spent seven years assiduously practising air raid precautions, and they will not believe that we would spare them from humanitarian motives. We should certainly not imitate Japanese cruelty, for we are not fifteenth century people, but it was Japan that chose war.

Dr. Eckstein properly warns his readers against accepting the facile explanation that a gang of assassins has terrorized the Japanese nation. A gang is easy to liquidate, he says, "We can finish a gang with a death sentence but a nation of 100,000,000 we would somehow have to convince and that can only be done slowly." One can agree with that and yet desire a more definite prescription for peace than the author offers. To beat Japan, he says, we must toughen our sensibilities and die and kill and then:

> look at them, and their minds, and their daily life, and the future, all with caution, knowledge, imagination and even sympathy. It is a Christ-like job.

Granted, but men will have to make the peace and they will deal with men. A less vague directive could have been thought of. Much of their air of mystery leaves the Japanese when they get down to business and this reviewer firmly believes that a peace can be made which will be stern and effective without leaving a sense of cruelty. (And he will be happier when Americans cease repeating Japanese bombast. The population of Japan is about 77,000,000 and the population of Korea is about 23,000,000. Added together they make 100,000,000, but Koreans are not Japanese.)

"Grade A"—Will Cuppy



Siren in the Night

the new Colonel Primrose Story

by **Leslie Ford**

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Libraries and the Post-War World

People Expect Sound Answers to Their Questions

DONALD KENNETH CAMPBELL

LIKE most well-intentioned groups which are trying to beat a path through the jungle of world-wide disturbance, librarians have been seeking a formula for war service. Possibly because it is in their training to find factual answers, possibly because it is much of our habit in the Western world to look for finite, direct keys to problems, librarians hurried into action in December, 1941, with war information desks stocked with war publications, vocational and technical books, garden literature, reading lists about persons, places, and events in the news. They soon found this was not enough.

The folks at home today are seeking more than the surface variety of solution. When mother asks "Why must my boy go to the Solomon Islands?" the old-fashioned answer won't do. People ask questions of fact in plenty, but they do more than that. They seek in increasing volume for the answer behind the answer. Somebody's got to define the reason for Johnny's jaunt, and "it better be good."

Two hundred library leaders from the United States and Canada analyzed their wartime duties during four sessions of a Library War Institute sponsored by the American Library Association, January 30-31, in Chicago. This first and experimental Institute is to be followed by twenty-one others in as many regions of the nation, financed by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

The questions behind the present war and the future peace were basic to all discussion at the Chicago National Institute. And it should be said of these librarians that, in a discussion bound to be abstract at times, they hung pretty closely to a sound perspective. They began by asking "What can we do to give people the answers?" and ended by searching with sensible honesty for what they could do to keep up with the people. "These folks at home," they said, "are going to ask us a lot of questions beyond the superficial, and we'd better get at the job of preparing for the answers."

What did the librarians talk about? They said things like this—

"Clarify and qualify the racial segments of the community. There is something different in each racial element which affects its attitude toward the war. The strength in each has made America strong. Let's seek out that strength and ally our books with it."

"The world is changing—has changed —will change even more. Let's iden-

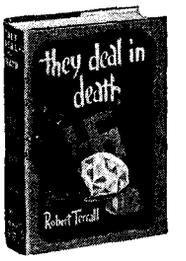
The Criminal Record

The Saturday Review's Guide to Detective Fiction

Title and Author	*Crime, Place, and Sleuth*	*Summing Up*	*Verdict*
PUT OUT THE LIGHT *Ethel Lina White* (Harper's: $2.)	Discontented slaves of rich and aging Englishwoman hope she'll die and she does. Author wrote "The Lady Vanishes."	Typical White build-up to murder—which comes late—concert-pitch suspense and a solution that isn't too hard to guess.	Standard brand
THIS IS MURDER, MR. JONES *Timothy Fuller* (Little, Brown: $2.)	Incomprehensible demise of radio program director in gothic Mass. mansion gives Jupiter Jones the case of his life.	Triple slaying, persistent killer who almost gets Jupiter, vivid set of people, and typical Jones talk and action rate this high.	First class
MURDER AT A POLICE STATION *Jefferson Farjeon* (Bobbs-Merrill: $2.)	Sgt. Pork, who poetizes about English countryside, runs into puzzling murder and, rather to his surprise, solves it.	Engaging crew of characters, especially old Jeremy who points Pork in right direction, pleasant background, and an unusual ending.	Good
DEATH IN THE DOLL'S HOUSE *Hannah Lees* and *Laurence Blochman* (Random House: $2.)	Slaying of young wife and wounding of spouse in country home gives detective Honeychunk and psychiatric assistants exciting time.	Worthwhile for its insight on mental problems, its admirable hospital background, and for a well-knit plot with good characterizations.	Top-drawer

Time was when high toned readers curled their lips at spy stories. "Far-fetched," they said. "Fantastic. Incredible." That was before the Axis proved that the authors of thrillers had been living in a whimsical world wrapped in cotton wool.

They Deal in Death by ROBERT TERRALL, just published by Inner Sanctum Mysteries, is a spy story *not* under wraps. Along with death and other assorted violences, it deals with a new type sabotage and Nazi villainy: the unholy traffic in industrial diamonds, those uncut, precious hunks which build the world's tools of war.



When the editors read the manuscript of *They Deal in Death*, they were torn between the breakneck pace of the story and the amazing new world of secret information it revealed. For example, we quote from the book's central character, MR. KATZ, diamond merchant:

"Diamonds aren't citizens of any country. They are mined in Africa, stored in London, cut in Palestine, sold in Bermuda, and bought in the United States. The Diamond Corporation, which keeps up the prices, is composed of Englishmen, the king of Belgium, the Union of South Africa, a few Frenchmen and certain Americans. The Germans have never got anywhere in the diamond business, but there are spies and traitors who are shipping diamonds to Hitler. They don't travel on German passports and *heil* Hitler. If they are to be stopped, *we* must stop them."

They Deal in Death is the story of how they were stopped.

So if you're contemplating the theft of a diamond in New York's diamond center, and want to find out how to escape from one of its automatically-locking buildings, or even if you're just a law-abiding citizen who revels in vicarious violence, read

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By Robert Terrall
AN INNER SANCTUM MYSTERY • PRICE $2.00
PUBLISHED BY SIMON AND SCHUSTER

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tify the trends and search for the books that can travel beside them as interpreters."

"This global war is broadening the horizon of our geography, more than at any time in history. It may be that a new renaissance of the mind's power will follow. We should be alert to the possibility. In such times books grow mighty, and mighty books are born."

"How about a post-war plan? Do people discuss post-war planning as they discuss coffee and butter? And the real settlement—will we as a people make it? Will we do better this time? What can librarians do about it?"

There is a question whether all Americans realize that these relationships at home and abroad, now and later, are of supreme importance to their well-being. It is, then, the function of librarians to make people who are apathetic about the issues at stake, grow thoughtful about them. But before they attempt to educate the other fellow, they must themselves be sure of their field. They must find new ways of letting the people know they have a war to win.

Reading has fallen off since the war started, but other library activities are growing. Film forums, discussion groups, study clubs, and public lectures in libraries are increasingly well attended. People who are working under terrific pressure must be given as much information as possible in the least possible time. New, short books and pamphlets must be written, and libraries must see that they are written.

The pattern of the library's principal responsibilities, as defined at the Institute, fell into three general lines—understanding of democracy and the reasons for war; understanding of other peoples; understanding of peace aims.

IF the American people really understand democracy they will fight for it on all fronts, for all its phases. They will fight for it in the home community, as well as internationally. We talk in large general concepts, but we must pay more attention to war's impact on every individual. Understanding begins at home. Libraries have a direct duty in this, to bring the book and the individual together for the job of building a perspective.

Public libraries can and must grow more vigorous in community life. They must grow in stature as vocal interpreters of their work. And through their contact with all classes and groups in the community, they must interpret the community to itself. They must use their native power to coördinate and interpret inter-racial community relations. Such relations are today in strong tempo, and they constitute a dynamo of strength which must be harnessed, for the community rather than against it.

The OCD has added as a recent function the duty of stimulating discussion programs throughout the nation, in cooperation with state and local defense councils. These programs are designed to help people understand what the war is about. The public library should provide interpretative material clearly organized, which discusses and clarifies the rationale behind each issue. Libraries must aid the people in mobilizing their minds to keep pace with the men on active duty. These men will be coming back to peacetime better informed than any military force in history. In the army, reading is the second most popular activity in off-hours. Barrack room sessions, correspondence courses are giving them a picture of the realities behind politics and international relations. Will the people back home keep step with them?

Libraries must define what the people are fighting for, and enlist books to clarify that definition—not a lot of books, but the number one books, the best in print. These books must be

(*Continued on page* 38)

[2]

CLEARLY SEEN AND DELIGHTFUL CHARACTERS*

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*From Struthers Burt's review

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The Crostics Club

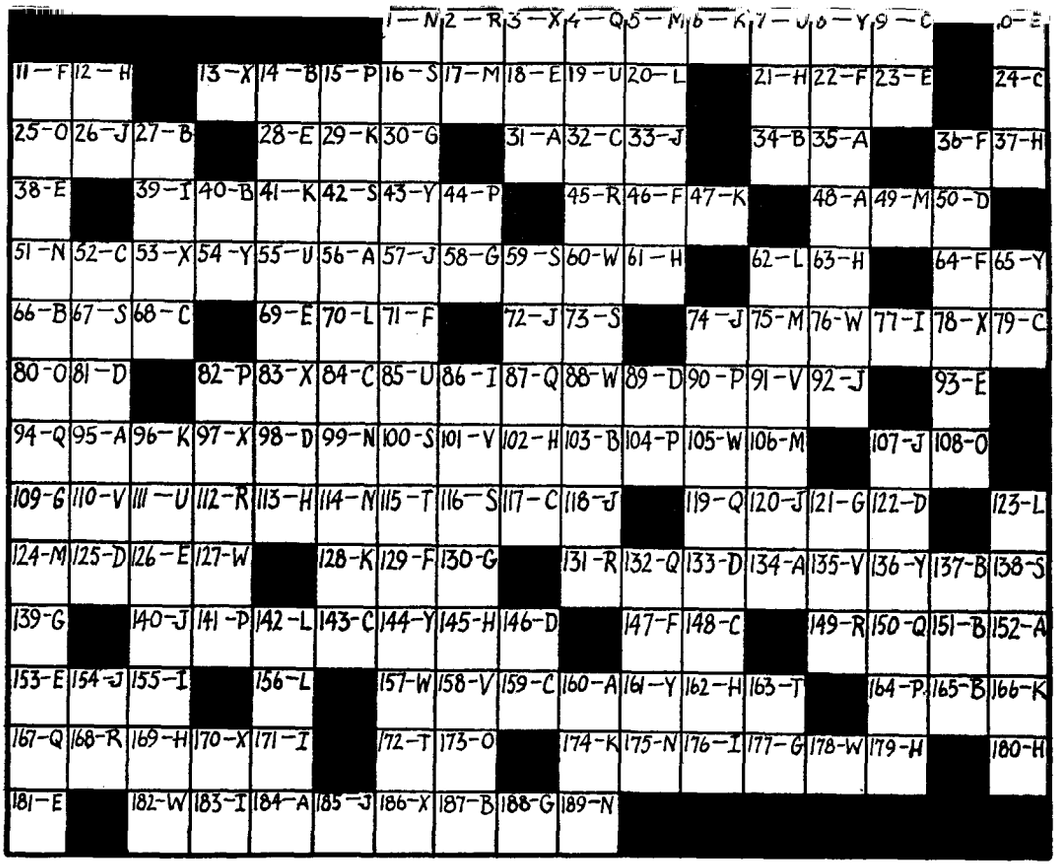
GEORGE W. LYON, Pittsburgh, whose scholarly and entertaining letter on Slang, too lengthy for this column last spring, but too good to ignore, is still awaiting space in another section of the *S.R.L.*, contributes this rewarding exposition. (Perhaps by now even Dr. Barker may be converted!) Omitting a discussion of *hippophagy, hippophagous,* and *hippophagi,* related to the urge today to eat horse flesh, here are his comments on the value of classical roots:

"I wish Greek were more generally taught in the schools today. There is no truly cultural education without some knowledge of Greek and Latin. After the nightmare of this machine age, chiefly responsible for the horrors of the present war, we may turn again to the humanities, the cultural studies and Greek and Latin. Let everyone read in Ruskin's 'Sesame and Lilies' what he says about the true meaning and understanding of words, and why it is desirable that one should at least know the Greek alphabet. When a mere schoolboy I came across two valuable little books: 'The Greek in English,' by Thomas Dwight Goodell, and 'The Latin in English,' by Harry Pratt Judson, both published by Henry Holt & Co., N. Y. If these books are still in print they are valuable little books in their respective fields."

Referring to my definition of poetry in the February 20 issue, Mr. Lyon encloses four prize-winning definitions of poetry from the *Forum* of August, 1928, as of possible interest. I omit the authors but the last is by our writer. "Poetry is a creation of word painting by a genius. . . . Poetry is the expression of abstract thought in concrete terms by means of artistic metaphor. It brings near the far, makes the unfeeling the feeling, the inanimate the animate, translates the foreign into the vernacular—in a word, makes the insensuous the sensuous. The imagination must be enlisted to understand and appreciate excellent poetry. . . . Poetry is a criticism of life in terms of beauty. . . . Poetry is the spontaneous, instinctive interpretation of truth and beauty, requiring the full, free play of the imagination, and finding exalted expression in metrical language designed to stir the emotions of men."

The other day I read at random from Ovid's "Metamorphoses" in the Loeb Classics, as follows:

"Then man was born; whether the God who made all else, designing a more perfect world made man in his own divine substance or whether the new earth, but lately drawn away from heavenly ether, retained still some elements of its kindred sky, and though all other animals are prone and fix their gaze upon the earth, he gave to man an uplifted face and bade him stand erect and turn his eyes to heaven." E. S. K.



Double-Crostics: No. 469

By ELIZABETH S. KINGSLEY

DIRECTIONS

To solve this puzzle you must guess twenty-five words, the definitions of which are given in the column headed DEFINITIONS. The letters in each word to be guessed are numbered. These numbers appear under the dashes in the column headed WORDS. There is a dash for each letter in the required word. The key letters in the squares are for convenience, indicating to which word in the definitions each letter in the diagram belongs. When you have guessed a word, fill it in on the dashes; then write each letter in the correspondingly numbered square on the puzzle diagram. When the squares are all filled in you will find (by reading from left to right) a quotation from a famous author. Reading up and down the letters mean nothing. The black squares indicate ends of words; therefore words do not necessarily end at the right side of the diagram.

When the column headed WORDS is filled in, the initial letters spell the name of the author and the title of the piece from which the quotation has been taken. Authority for spelling and definitions is Webster's New International Dictionary (1940 edition).

The solution of last week's *Double Crostic* will be found on page 29 of this issue.

DEFINITIONS

A. Novel by leading Negro U. S. author (1940).

B. The Battle of The Three Emperors (1805).

C. Indomitable (comp.)

D. Very cautiously.

E. Sketches by Melville (1854—with *The;* or "The Enchanted Isles").

F. Husband of Deborah the Prophetess (Bib.)

G. To pave or prepare the way for (3 wds.)

H. To meet the consequences of one's acts (colloq.—3 wds.)

I. Pierced with many holes; sifted (flour).

J. To awake to a realization of something (3 wds.)

K. A group of dialects transitional between Slovak and Czech.

L. A *Cabal* in The Revolution, to supplant Washington with Gates.

M. Mother of Samuel.

N. Author of "The Native's Return" (1934).

O. A prehistoric hero of the Angles (In *Beowulf* and *Widsith.*)

P. Great Tragedy Queen of Britain (1755-1831).

Q. To flog or cudgel.

R. To displease.

S. A form of solitaire.

T. Ancient Italian goddess of the Harvest (Roman Rel.)

U. Saltpeter.

V. Capital of Piedmont, Italy.

W. A bounding staccato (Music—violin, etc.)

X. The musical form of which Handel was a master.

Y. Part of Rome containing the Vatican (with *City*).

WORDS

35 134 48 160 184 56 31 95 152

66 151 27 165 40 14 187 34 103 137

79 32 84 117 159 148 52 9 24 143 68

89 125 122 133 50 98 81 146

38 23 126 69 28 10 93 153 18 181

129 22 64 147 71 46 36 11

130 188 58 139 177 109 30 121

63 169 102 12 145 37 61 21 162 179 180 113

86 77 171 155 176 183 39

72 120 26 57 107 74 185 118 33 92 154 140

41 29 47 128 174 6 166 96

142 62 70 123 156 20

124 5 17 106 75 49

175 189 99 51 114 1

25 108 173 80

82 104 44 15 141 90 164

4 132 150 119 167 94 87

131 149 45 2 112 168

67 42 59 73 16 138 116 100

172 115 163

7 111 55 85 19

91 158 110 101 135

182 88 157 105 60 127 178 76

78 170 186 97 13 3 53 83

8 65 161 54 136 43 144

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LIBRARIES AND THE POST-WAR WORLD

(*Continued from page* 36)

practical and clear. Folks have other war tasks in addition to reading. They have not the time to take a graduate course in each subject. They need somebody to seek out for them something, and that something as clear as possible, to explain this unholy mess that we all have got ourselves into.

They have a fundamental wisdom, those often groping, often puzzled, busy millions who are the folks about us. They will not envision a peace, complete, in six weeks. But they want to work towards a vision. When they go to their libraries, seeking help, libraries must be ready for them. Demagogues are always ready with simple plausible answers. But if people get the facts, either through books or talking or looking at films, we can trust them to reach sound answers.

People are crowding to libraries to learn about hitherto strange lands, to study geography and history. Father, mother, sister, aunt want to learn about that place where "our Bill' is stationed. The millions who are looking up that kind of information will, through their very curiosity, add a tremendous store of knowledge to America. It will mellow our international sociability. This new interest in other peoples has brought us up against elemental, primitive differences in social attitudes. For a generation we believed we were helping our fellow man by minding our own business. Then suddenly we discovered that apparently we have got to kill him to help him. That isn't the whole truth, of course, but the particular fact that it takes a war to straighten out our international differences, comes upon us so quickly that for a space we are puzzled. Just now we do not know our direction too well.

WE, who are average people, must know about the average people of other lands. They are working, also, and worrying, and hoping, and praying. Other people think war is silly, as we do, but go on fighting, as we do. It is the average people who would like to unlock the door to friendship between the nations, if they could only find a key. People react in a thousand different ways. They talk, discuss, do their thinking, in equal variety. Those who are less voluble, the quiet many in the nation, will affect the course of international understanding as much as the goodwill salesman, if libraries can provide the key through their resources. These resources are widening every day. The Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs has under way a huge program for creating understanding of our Latin-American neighbors. In four Middle-Western states during the last few months, libraries have been working with the Office in close coöperation to stimulate interest in Latin America. Syndicated feature stories have been published in small-town newspapers, to arouse the desire to read about special phases of continental interdependence. Free films, reaching a high standard of technical excellence, have been released through libraries and other agencies. The number of books published about Latin America has spurted sharply upward. China, Great Britain, and many other nations have information bureaus in the United States to interpret their people to ours. We must understand our neighbors in the post-war world. There is no alternative.

Are people thinking of post-war conditions? Some librarians think they are; others say they are not. The most sensible answer—post-war thinking has just begun. It is only within the last few weeks that the realistic person has seen evidence he has something to plan about. Give him time for thought.

Post-war planning takes in so many things. It is food, or famine, free trade, or tariff. It is world coöperation, or isolationsm. It is policing. It is education, or the lack of it. It is inter-racial suspicion, or inter-racial tolerance. It is barter, and wage levels, and colonies, and national aspirations. It is medicine and health, and geography of foods, and oil, and rubber, and shoes. It is sugar in Singapore, rice in China, tea in Formosa. It is defeat, or it is victory. It is all such things, and countless more. Some one of them touches everyone and that is the reason everybody must be concerned in planning for after-the-war. Libraries are significant in all this, because they have the facts, more than any other single institution. Libraries must help people see basic values in what looks little or unimportant. Librarians must work on the basis of problems that hit people where they live and feel. There is our workshop for post-war planning. It is no disgrace to be willing to play on the home team. In fact, it's the finest kind of development training for playing in bigger fields.

—From "If We Wish to Be Free."

THE American people must not allow themselves to become victims of events. They deplore futilities, and if they plan, they are not facing a futility. They have not only the job of planning, but they have the facilities. The capable library is a habit with the thoughtful element in the community. Folks from nine to ninety constantly use its materials, have used them for years, and think of the library in terms of learning without regimentation. Thus libraries emerge as trusted partners of the people in times, as today, when they search with special care for the backgrounds of their problems. Problems are theirs to be solved. Libraries must help, whatever difficulties the added burden may bring.

There is a perilous nearness to the subject of post-war planning, and enough public interest to encourage libraries to concentrate on the job of assisting. Librarians must go beyond former methods—must encourage enthusiasm between books and persons, between themselves and other organizations. People have the power within themselves to build the future. They had it after the last war, and failed to exert it. When Congress obstructed the peace plans then, it was due to popular ignorance about the implications of a real peace.

We must remember that other nations will give us competition in post-war solutions. The dictator states got the jump on us in preparing for war. Other states have been planning for the peace table longer than we have. We must get ready now, through our whole democratic process, for the battle of peace. If the people fail this time, libraries haven't done their job.

ANSWERS TO LITERARY QUIZ

1. Henry Faust, in "Faust," by Goethe.
2. Dr. Sangrado, in "Gil Blas," by Rene LeSage.
3. Lemuel Gulliver, in "Gulliver's Travels," by Jonathan Swift.
4. Victor Frankenstein, in "Frankenstein," by Mary W. Shelley.
5. Dr. Manette, in "A Tale of Two Cities," by Dickens.
6. Feadle Dogbody, in "Dr. Dogbody's Leg," by James Norman Hall.
7. Dr. Heidegger, in "Dr. Heidegger's Experiment," by Nathaniel Hawthorne.
8. Dr. Jekyll, in "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde," by R. L. Stevenson.
9. Dr. John H. Watson, in "A Study in Scarlet," by A. Conan Doyle.
10. "Arrowsmith," by Sinclair Lewis.

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PERSONALS

ADVERTISEMENTS will be accepted in this column for things wanted or unwanted; personal services to let or required; literary or publishing offers not easily classified elsewhere; miscellaneous items appealing to a special and intelligent clientèle; jobs wanted, houses or camps for rent, tutoring, traveling companions, ideas for sale; communications of a decorous nature, expressions of opinion (limited to fifty lines). All advertisements must be consonant with the purpose and character of The Saturday Review. Ads of a strictly personal nature are limited to an exchange of correspondence, thus also enabling an exchange of reference. Rates: 10 cents per word including signature. Count two additional words for Box and Number. Payment in full must be received ten days in advance of publication. We forward all mail received in answer to box numbers. Address Personal Dept., Saturday Review, 25 West 45th Street, New York City.

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NEGRO, A.B., desires correspondence on racial relations. Box 938-G.

REMAINS THERE IN SEATTLE a garret still garretty? Southern girl would redecorate and occupy it when she arrives in June. Box 942-G.

YOUNG MAN would correspond with genial, well-read female. Box 939-G.

LADY WITH CHARM, past middle age, would correspond with gentleman same age, or older. Box 940-G.

BRIGHT YOUNG THING, 23, B.A., with distinction in English, stagnating at secretary's desk, wants creative journalistic work. Some journalism, 2 years' office experience. Philadelphia vicinity preferred. Box 941-G.

I HAVE BEEN LOOKING FOR YOU for over a decade. Now, matured and experienced in love and life, I'm leaving for the army shortly, but feeling incomplete and yearning. Perhaps we will discover each other now? Box 932-G.

AUTHOR, residing small Southern California town, offers half-time employment male stenographer. References exchanged. Box 937-G.

WOULD CORRESPOND with those familiar with ideas of mysticism. Box 736-G.

TEACHER, M.A., enjoys reading, music, flowers, pets, church attendance, home-cooked food, rural life, desires mature gentlemen pen friends. Box 943-G.

WRITER, mother with two children (seven and five), teach art, personal religion, assist crafts; lend hand generally, camp or institution, for summer. Resourceful, versatile. Experience. Box 936-G.

IS THERE AN ATTRACTIVE girl, broad minded and with a sense of humor, who desires a correspondent in the form of a young engineer, widely traveled, educated, and liberal minded? Box 946-G.

HAVING DINNER with F.P.A. one night last week, I spied across the room a man with eagles on his shoulder and excused myself to Frank, went over to exchange a few words with the officer. Says the Colonel: "I have been watching you this afternoon and envy your life here. I saw you talking to John Erskine, van Loon, Mencken, Benchley, not to mention any number of beautiful women. Do you appreciate your blessings?" "Indeed, I do, Colonel, and am grateful." Returning to my table and to my guest, I report: "The Colonel thinks I lead an ideal, even an ecstatic existence." "Huh," says Frank, "I suppose he thinks you have dinner with me **every** night."

Well, that's the way things go at the Algonquin and money isn't everything. But it is close to it and this adv. is baited with the intent of getting you to come here and bring some money with you.

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COLLEGE GRAD, young mother, will entertain small children afternoons. Call Ed 4-3955.

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GENTLEMAN AUTHOR engaged in important literary enterprise wants feminine correspondence with similar interest. Box 904-G.

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YOUNG WOMAN wants position in antique, gift, or book shop, knows books and antiques. Prefers Northeast or Southwest. Box 935-G.

CHALLENGE OF LARGER OPPORTUNITY solicited by not too disillusioned 42-year-old (4H). Now employed. Balanced extrovert, introvert; civil engineering training, sales and municipal research experience. 13 years in charge local citizens' bureaus in Midwest. 11 years present job. Extensive experience before local and state legislative bodies. Best fitted: general administration, budgets, public relations, personnel. Box 934-G.

"GREEN SHADOWS," Lyme, Connecticut. Delightful, informal New England rooms, cottages.

YOUNG MAN with varied interests invites correspondence with young woman. Among other things, we can be mutually helpful in developing proficiency in Spanish. Box 948-G.

YOUNG WIFE desires woman to share reasonable expenses—attractive, quiet, Vermont home. Victory garden. Box 949-G.

WILL MR. THIRTYISH correspond with vivacious young woman—needs morale boosting—interested in writing advertising, theatre. Box 950-G.

PROOFREADER, copy editor, female, 28, wants change. Go anywhere. With present employers, prominent printers and publishers, 10 years. Experienced newspaper, law, book, catalog, etc. Would also work at home. Excellent references. Box 951-G.

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A PIZZICATO personality has this wench, In search of work is she; She writes, albeit, words she cannot quench, Consider, do you have a vacancy? Box 944-G.

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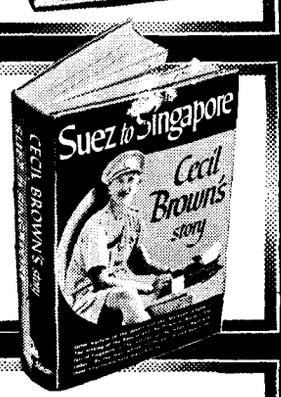

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